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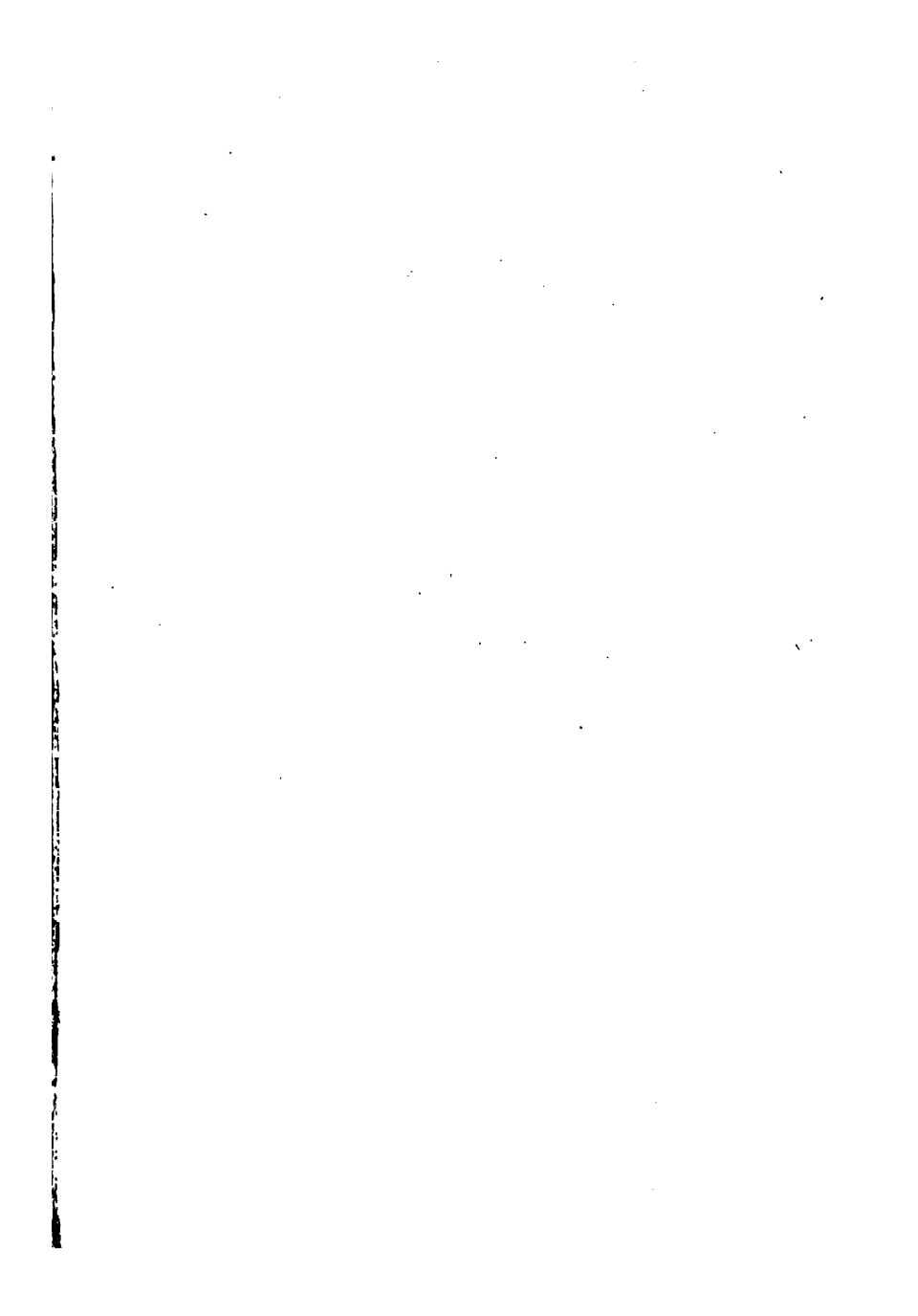
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L Y S I A S

EPITAPHIOS.

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

^Oxford

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## PREFACE.

LYSIAS is usually studied in the form of selections, in which, either as not being typical of its author or from suspicion having been cast on its authenticity, the *Epitaphios* is not included. But whatever conclusion critics may arrive at on this point, the speech is still worthy of being read both for its own sake and as a specimen of its class. The subject of funeral orations has been discussed in a general way by Villemain in his *Essai sur l'Oraison Funèbre*, and in connexion with the funeral speech of Hyperides by Girard in his *Études sur l'Éloquence Attique*. The genuineness of the *Epitaphios* has been defended with much spirit by Le Beau in a little treatise entitled *Lysias Epitaphios als echt erwiesen*; but though some considerable names are not wanting on this side, it is only fair to say that the tendency of the most recent criticism is to reject it. I have reprinted the text of Cobet, but as Scheibe's authority is hardly less, I have noticed every important instance in which they differ. Lastly, I have to acknowledge the very kind advice which I have received in preparing this work from Mr. Evelyn Abbott.

F. J. SNELL.



## INTRODUCTION.

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‘Du reste ce discours que le savant auteur de l’Essai sur les Éloges n’a cité ni désigné nulle part est un précieux monument et de l’éloge funèbre chez les Grecs et du génie de Lysias et de cet atticisme si difficile à définir et à imiter, qui était le bon goût de l’antiquité. On ne saurait imaginer une diction plus simple et plus pure, une suite d’idées plus régulière et plus naturelle; et si le style seul faisait l’éloquence ou plutôt si les plus grandes beautés du style pouvaient naître sans la vive émotion de l’âme il faudrait nommer cet ouvrage de Lysias un chef-d’œuvre oratoire.’

VILLEMAIN.

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### I.

#### ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE EPITAPHIOS OR FUNERAL SPEECH.

THE *epitaphios* or funeral speech in honour of citizens who had fallen in war was, Demosthenes tells us<sup>1</sup>, an institution peculiar to Athens. It would not, however, be possible fully to understand its purport without some regard to the conditions out of which it arose and which were of a more general character. In the funeral rites of early Greece an essential feature was the *threnos* or lament, the best description of which is to be found in Homer’s narrative<sup>2</sup> of the reception of the corpse of Hector. We learn from this that the minstrels sang an *oidé* of a plaintive description, but their strains were only incidents of a larger ritual in which the female relations and a chorus of women participated. As far as can be made out from Homer’s few words<sup>3</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> Lept. p. 499.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* xxiv. 720; *Odyss.* xxiv. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Notice the imp. *ἐθρήνεον*, *ib.* 722.

*aoidé* consisted of strophes. At each pause some leading mourner broke in with passionate laments, probably of an *extempore* nature, and it was the duty of the chorus to echo her words and to imitate her gestures. Like the *coranach*, the *threnos*,—using that word in the narrower sense,—was doubtless full of allusions to the pedigree and the valour of the dead, and these traits, as will be seen, were faithfully reproduced in its descendant. The dirge is in that sense an emblem of the aristocratic period. Its use originated in an era when the family was the unit both for political and religious purposes and possessed along with its demesne its tomb, where the members of the house were buried and sacrifices were offered to their manes. Subsequently during the *régime* of the tyrants the *threnos* became a regular form of lyric poetry and was cultivated as such by Pindar and Simonides. The mention of the latter is significant, since his ode on the heroes of Thermopylae forms as it were the connecting link between the personal and aristocratic *threnos* and the impersonal and democratic *epitaphios*.

The history of the *epitaphios* bears a strong resemblance to that of the tragic drama<sup>1</sup>. In the dithyramb, from which the latter was developed, there were the same three classes of performers, namely, the minstrels, the leaders of the chorus, and the chorus itself. The *impromptu* element was supplied by the leader of the chorus, and this was the origin of the dialogue, the iambic metre of which is, as Aristotle observes<sup>2</sup>, the most colloquial of all. In the drama the lyrical element tended more and more to disappear, and similarly the elegiacs which were inscribed at the public charge and stimulated the ambition of contemporary poets, were not recited at the funeral, and served merely as epitaphs. As a general symptom the prose of the *epitaphios* answers to the iambics of the tragedy<sup>3</sup>, but the orator may be said to have represented both kinds of *exarchi*, the mourner and the bard. Again, the dithyramb and the *threnos* received their ex-

<sup>1</sup> Poet. c. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Dem. De Coron. p. 322; Lysias Epit. §§ 2, 80.

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 11; cp. the term *ῥῆσις* of a 'speech' in a play.

pansion by the same means, namely, by the incorporation of the old legends, and of the *epitaphios* fully matured as we find it, the exhibition of  $\eta\theta\eta$  is as much a characteristic as it is of the tragedy<sup>1</sup>.

The cause of the transformation of the *threnos* to the *epitaphios* must be sought in the altered state of society at Athens towards the close of the sixth century. We are nowhere explicitly told when the custom of public funerals in the Ceramicus began, but we are not without some significant hints. Thus Lysias<sup>2</sup> distinguishes the Athenian ancestors who lived prior to its institution from those who came after and commences his account of the latter with the victors of Marathon. From Thucydides' notice<sup>3</sup> on the subject we should suppose that the practice was somewhat older, since he expressly states that the heroes of Marathon were buried, not in the Ceramicus, but, as a mark of especial distinction, on the spot where they fell. Girard imagines that the custom was inaugurated amidst the national fervour excited by the Persian war, but we know<sup>4</sup> that a similar enthusiasm was awakened by the expulsion of the Pisistratidae. At any rate it is hardly possible that such a custom can have existed before the reforms of Clisthenes, of which it reflects so much of the spirit.

The mode of sepulture, Thucydides informs<sup>5</sup> us, was as follows. The relics of the dead were exposed, in a tent erected for the purpose, during three days, in which the relatives might bring funeral offerings. When the time came for burial, the wagons of each tribe bore a coffin of cypress wood in which the bones of its slain were deposited, and one bier covered with a pall was carried in commemoration of the missing. Any one, citizen or alien, might join the procession, and women who were related to the dead were present to lament them. The remains were placed in a public tomb in the most beautiful suburb of the city—the Ceramicus—and an orator expressly chosen by the senate pronounced the funeral speech.

<sup>1</sup> Poet. c. vi.

<sup>2</sup> ii. 35.

<sup>3</sup> ii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Epit. §§ 3, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. Hdt. v. 78.

From other sources<sup>1</sup> we learn that sacrifices and games were celebrated in honour of the event.

It is now possible to bring out more distinctly the meaning of the *epitaphios*. We see in it an old aristocratic institution adapted to the temper of an innovating but jealous and haughty democracy, which, amidst necessary changes, was loth to part company with the past. To the patriotic Athenian the Ceramicus was the visible symbol of the national glory, and it was something more, for in his neighbours who were there buried he was, so to speak, ennobled by proxy. If the eupatrid worshipped his ancestors and honoured them with an annual festival the heroes of the Ceramicus received the same distinctions from the assembled citizens. Strongly as the Athenians insisted on equality, they were far from insensible to the *prestige* of high birth, and while they were intolerant of privilege, they showed themselves singularly complaisant to the orators who complimented them on the *εὐγένεια* of their sons and brothers. Demosthenes, however, is alone in treating the subject from the old aristocratic standpoint, and, as though he were conscious of some absurdity, he speedily forsakes it. The effect of the democratic revolution was, ideally at least, to substitute the city for the family. All the pride and affection which had once been vested in the latter was now transferred to the former. The old tradition that the Athenians were sprung from the soil obtained a new significance in these altered circumstances. The associations of the word *αὐτόχθων*, to the thought of the Athenian citizen, carried back his race to an unknown antiquity. Attica was to him an estate of which his ancestors had held immemorial possession. He therefore claimed to be much the superior of the 'miscellaneous' Peloponnesian or Boeotian. He was proud, also, of the adventurous deeds of his sires, about whose character however, it is insisted, there was nothing of the buccaneer. They were very models of rectitude, and fought only in the cause of innocence or for their own. The aristocratic sentiment thus found expression for itself *externally*, that is,

<sup>1</sup> Pl. Menex. p. 249; Dem. Epit. p. 1400; Lysias Epit. § 85.

as towards the inhabitants of other cities. Internally, as between Athenian citizens, absolute equality must prevail. Hence in the *epitaphios* we find scarcely any proper names. The brief notice devoted to the immediate subjects is quite anonymous and the temporary exaltation of the orator himself is atoned for by deprecation and flattery. Only in the decadence of Athens do we find the virtues of a single hero<sup>1</sup> expressly named furnishing the main theme of a funeral discourse. From the eulogy of Hyperides we easily pass to the purely biographical *epitaphios* of the Fathers, by which time the transformation in its outward conditions had been completed. The *threnos*, in part at least, had been a metrical composition with a musical accompaniment. The ministers of the chieftain's pleasure paid him a last tribute in a form which was familiar and acceptable to him. But with their political emancipation the Athenians acquired a new taste and faculty for oratory, in which it was possible to find a much larger scope, and they felt<sup>2</sup> that no honour could be more gratifying to the dead than the praise of men by whose eloquence, in the assembly or the dicastery, they had been riveted when in life. The funeral orations which we possess are all comparatively late. The earliest *epitaphii* were doubtless much less formal, though the difference was probably less in the subjects, which were determined by the circumstances of the case, than in the diction. The cultivation of rhetoric as an art, especially by the Sicilians, introduced important changes. The *epitaphios* came to be distinctly recognized as a species of epideictic oratory. As such it is hardly distinguishable from the panegyric. In both cases the accessories of the delivery were the same—horse-races, contests of athletes, etc. Both were practised by the same masters. Thus Gorgias, who is said to have written an *epitaphios*, wrote also an *Olympicus* and a *Pythicus*, and there is still extant a fragment of an *Olympicos* by Lysias. An instauration of the past, which is of course ideal, is a common feature in *epitaphii* and panegyrics, and the mode of treat-

<sup>1</sup> Leosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1389.



ment by which the real and the legendary are fused into a consistent whole, and for which the schools supplied a formula—*καὶνὰ τ' ἀρχαίως τὰ τ' ἐναντία καινῶς*<sup>1</sup>—belongs equally to both classes of writing. In other words, existing states of society are transferred to distant eras, while the subjects of the harangue are credited with the old spirit of honour and purity of motive. The main difference between panegyrics and *epitaphii* is in the greater range of topics and fewer restrictions of the former, though the panegyrist, it would seem, generally expressed the sense of national unity by tirades against the Great King.

The *epitaphios* has now been studied in relation to the *threnos*, the tragedy, and the panegyric. There is one more composition with which it remains to compare it—the funeral oration of modern times, the greatest masters of which are the French preachers of the seventeenth century, especially Bossuet. The Greek speech shares with the modern sermon the commendation of virtue, expressions of regret for the dead and of consolation for the mourners. But the funeral sermon is pervaded by a strong sense of the awfulness of death and the certain and momentous issues with which it is fraught, whereas in the *epitaphios* there is but slight reference to a future life, and even that is conjectural. This is all the more remarkable because we have in the *Republic*<sup>2</sup> of Plato and elsewhere ample evidence that superstition at Athens was rampant. The truth seems to be that the feeling which Achilles is made to express in the *Odyssey*<sup>3</sup>, still predominated in the minds of the citizens over the more hopeful views which such men as Socrates<sup>4</sup> entertained with regard to the future world. The mysteries seem to have been valued chiefly as a means of escape from just retribution. Since the word Hades was a more or less ominous sound to Greek ears, and the recognition of their deified heroes by the gods was not assured, the orators prefer to limit their area to the things of earth, from which they

<sup>1</sup> Pl. Phaedr. p. 267; Isocr. Panegy. § 8.

<sup>2</sup> P. 363. <sup>3</sup> xi. 489. <sup>4</sup> Pl. Apol. p. 30; Phaed. p. 63.

draw consolation in two ways. (i) By an anticipation of Stoicism, they dwell on the universality of death. Since it is an ordinance of nature, to which all are subject, we have no ground of complaint against it. (ii) They point out how a glorious death may well compensate for a life cut short. The mass of men live and die and are none the better, but those who perish in the service of their country are always remembered. Perhaps also, but this is less certain, for their surpassing virtue they are rewarded by a place among the gods. Summing up, the *epitaphios* is the dirge as modified by a democratic environment. It exhibits at once the highest possibilities of patriotism and the real limitations of paganism.

## II.

## AUTHORSHIP OF THE EPITAPHIOS.

It is an unlucky circumstance that the genuineness of the *Epitaphios* is a matter of dispute. Naturally therefore this question must take precedence of all others. The voice of antiquity, as Reiske the earliest assailant allows, is unanimous in ascribing it to Lysias, and this fact alone affords the strongest presumption of its being authentic. While, however, no doubt is cast on the *Epitaphios*, it is true that there were a large number of orations attributed to Lysias which critics like Dionysius and Harpocration felt obliged to reject, and as a consequence Paulus of Mysia<sup>1</sup> deploras the loss of many admirable speeches, which on being pronounced spurious fell into disrepute. This circumstance while it causes a very natural surmise that among the thirty-four orations which pass under the name of Lysias some may be suppositious is really a forcible argument for the genuineness of the *Epitaphios*. Whatever differences modern editors may detect between the panegyric and forensic style of Lysias it will hardly be maintained that the older critics were less able to appreciate them, and the distinct character thus imparted to the *Epitaphios*, since it must from the first have challenged attention, is by no means favourable to the hypothesis of

<sup>1</sup> Photius cod. 262.

forgery. Isocrates' warning<sup>1</sup>, in which he tells us not to confuse the *desiderata* of two opposite kinds of writing, epideictic orations and legal pleadings, nor imagine that perfection in one style is a bar to excelling in the other, seems almost a prevision of the present controversy. Elaboration and simplicity should, according to this witness, be respectively characteristic of panegyric and court speaking. What Isocrates says is no more than might have occurred to an *ιδιώτης* if he had reflected on the subject; nevertheless the consideration to which it points is highly important, since it renders the position of Reiske and others who rely solely on this difference untenable. We cannot suppose that Lysias, who was a pupil of Tisias and possessed in a high degree the dramatic instinct, would be guilty of a literary *bêtise* in so simple a matter as the true style of a panegyric. If he ever wrote an *epitaphios* we may be sure that in intention at least he chose a form appropriate to his subject. We are in fact asked to believe that Lysias wrote none but legal speeches; but we are not told how to reconcile such a belief with the statement of Dionysius that Lysias' strength is to be seen rather in his forensic than in his panegyric and state orations. Moreover, we have evidence proving that in the conception of his contemporaries epideictic composition is not inconsistent with Lysias' personality as a writer. If the authenticity of Lysias' orations had to be decided by what is stated to be characteristic of him in the *Phaedrus*<sup>2</sup>, choice of terms, perspicuity, smoothness, love of display, repetition of himself, and the like, the *Epitaphios* might be safely submitted to the ordeal. In accepting this test, it is not necessary to commit ourselves to any view of the authorship of the *Eroticos*, though, if with Blass we conclude it to be really by Lysias, some weight is added to what are otherwise purely general considerations.

Again, Wolf's assertion that the *Epitaphios* is a cento consisting of 'tags' from the writings of Plato, Isocrates, etc. obviously involves a *petitio principii*. The existence of coincidences in the works of these authors is undeniable and

<sup>1</sup> Panegy. § 11.

<sup>2</sup> P. 235.

calls for some explanation, but there is no need to settle the matter *à priori* by sacrificing the *Epitaphios* of Lysias. In this context it will be advantageous to refer to Villemain's gratuitous testimony to its excellence as a composition, which proves that internally at least there is nothing to excite suspicion. Nor does a minute comparison of it with the speeches in question supply us with any good reason for selecting the author of the *Epitaphios* as the plagiarist. Take, for example, the treatment of the motherhood of Attica in the *Epitaphios* and the *Menexenus*. The simple account in the former is clearly quite independent of Plato's more affected version. We might ask also what caused the *Menexenus* to be written? It is not at all unlikely that Plato having successfully mimicked Lysias in one *paidia* should have been tempted to repeat the experiment in another only without naming him. Then as to the *Panegyric* the more natural account seems to be that instead of being one of the sources of the *Epitaphios* it was itself suggested by it. The earliest date assigned to the *Panegyric* is 384 B. C., so that the *Epitaphios*, assuming it to be genuine, must have been composed at least three years previously. Perhaps we may discover the germ of the *Panegyric* in Lysias' incidental allusions to the claim of Athens to the hegemony. That Isocrates was acquainted with the *Epitaphios* may be inferred from his censure of certain orators for the apologetic tone of their proems. The phrases to which he takes exception are to be found in this speech. In a similar way where Lysias uses the expression *ὀργισθέντες*<sup>1</sup> in speaking of the Athenians, Isocrates by a tacit correction says *οὐκ ὀργισθέντες*. If either writing is to be impeached, it is the *Panegyric*, and Isocrates evidently feels this to be the case when he talks of the disadvantage of having to follow the ablest of the citizens who had dealt with the same topics in their funeral harangues. From the occurrence, however, of the same phrases in these highly artificial compositions there is no necessity to conclude that any one of them is spurious or even copied from another. Mr. Mahaffy, who has

<sup>1</sup> Lysias Epit. § 45; Isocr. Panegyric. § 94.

observed this peculiarity, thinks that a lost *epitaphios* of Gorgias may have been the original model. We know at least that as a standing need existed for them, *epitaphii* received special attention from the sophists, and the multiplication of them at the hands of professors would naturally produce a harvest of common-places<sup>1</sup> of which orators, without perhaps direct reference to their *τέχνη*, may often have availed themselves. These causes would of course operate to obscure an orator's individuality. Notwithstanding Le Beau has remarked many idiomatic usages in this *Epitaphios* and has found parallels, some of which have been noted elsewhere, in other speeches of Lysias. Though these may not suffice to establish the authenticity of the oration they may well be set in the scale against differences of style necessitated by the conditions of panegyric writing. The argument derived from the alleged poverty of the *Epitaphios* can only be partially considered here. It is clear, however, that every such allegation presupposes a standard, and nothing is so variable as taste. The words of Villemain, to which attention has been already drawn, prove that even in recent times a widely different estimate has been formed of it. But as modern criticism can only deal in generalities it seems more pertinent to ask with Westermann—was Aristotle likely to appeal to a clumsy sophist? Lastly, it may be urged that the *Epitaphios*, especially in its range of topics, is such as Lysias would have written. In particular the speech lays stress on the exploits of Thrasybulus, in whose success Lysias is known to have been interested, and the mention of the *Ξένοι* is doubly important from Lysias' own *status* and his equipment of mercenaries in the popular interest. The fullest weight must be allowed to this evidence because the allusion is peculiar to this *Epitaphios* and not likely to have been inserted by a mere forger and plagiarist.

As regards the question whether Lysias merely wrote his speech or actually delivered it, three hypotheses seem possible, (i) that Lysias both wrote and delivered it; (ii) that

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Mahaffy, *Prose Writers*, § 382.

Lysias wrote it, but that it was delivered by some one else ; (iii) that Lysias wrote it, but that it was never delivered, at any rate in the Ceramicus. It is nowhere positively stated that a metic was legally disqualified for pronouncing a funeral oration, and in the absence of any technical objection no one is more likely to have been appointed than Lysias, both as a devoted partisan of the democracy, as an *ισοτέλης*, and still more as a distinguished rhetorician. Thucydides<sup>1</sup> states as the two requisites for the post, ability and the possession of public esteem, while Plato in the *Menexenus* implies that the choice generally fell on consummate orators. The former tells us also that foreigners took part in the procession, and we learn from this very speech that mercenaries slain in the service of Athens were treated on exactly the same terms as the citizens. There was therefore nothing exclusive in this ceremony. On the other hand Plato says<sup>2</sup> that speeches were to be had ready-made, and as it was Lysias' profession to supply addresses for litigants, we might have supposed that he wrote the *Epitaphios* in somewhat the same way, except for the circumstance above noted, that in the selection of orators personal fitness seems not to have been overlooked. Thirdly, it is possible that the *Epitaphios* may have been, like the *Eroticos* or the *Menexenus*, a *jeu d'esprit*, but, apart from such phrases as *οἱ νῦν θανόντες*, the speech is evidently a popular one. On the whole, therefore, the first supposition appears to be the most probable.

## III.

## THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SPEECH.

The disaster at Aegospotami, 405 B. C., was the death-blow to Athens as an imperial city. Sparta, in the flush of her triumph, and under the evil inspiration of Lysander, was not content with the resumption of her hegemony by land and sea, but transformed the whole Hellenic system by extending to it the rigid conditions of the Lacedaemonian constitution. In the execution of her ambitious rôle she sacrificed not only

<sup>1</sup> ii. 34.<sup>2</sup> *Menex.* p. 235 D.

the just claims, but even the independence of her allies. From the worst features, however, of vassalage Athens was rescued by the splendid courage of Thrasybulus and his brother exiles. Naturally enough the new order of things produced much discontent, and the traditional enemies of Greece were not slow to profit by it. In 395 B.C. an emissary furnished with ample means was despatched by Tithraustes the Persian satrap at Sardis to Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, and though an anti-Spartan alliance did not at once result, the train was laid for future ignition. The Spartans themselves applied the match by taking sides against Thebes in the frontier dispute between Locris and Phocis. Thebes threw herself on the support of Athens, which, in spite of the ancient feud between the two cities, was readily granted, and, Lysander having been defeated and slain at Haliartus, Thrasybulus marched with a force of Athenians to oppose the fresh aggression of Pausanias, 395 B.C. Corinth, which had thus far held aloof, then became the centre of a formidable confederacy which included at first Thebes, Athens, Corinth, and Argos, and afterwards gained new accessions in Euboea, Acarnania, Ambracia, Leucas, etc. The Spartans hastened to attack the federal army at Nemea and inflicted a severe defeat on it, but were unable to turn their victory to any further account. Not long after Agesilaus engaged the Thebans at Coronea and won another barren triumph for Sparta, 394 B.C. Meanwhile Conon had revenged himself for the surprise at Aegospotami by defeating the Lacedaemonian fleet at Cnidus, and in company with Pharnabazus the satrap of the Hellespont set out for Corinth, where the allies had drawn a line across the isthmus. With the assistance of Pharnabazus the Athenians were now able to restore their Long Walls, an event of immense importance, since Athens was thereby rendered invulnerable to attack by land, 393 B.C. In 392 B.C., through the treachery of Pasimelus, the Spartans succeeded in breaking through the confederate lines, and in the battle of Lechaenum which followed the allies were totally defeated. The capture of the long walls at Corinth occasioned a panic, in which negotiations were

opened with Sparta, but they proved abortive. During the same year Iphicrates distinguished himself by annihilating a Spartan *mora*. In 390 B.C. the walls at Corinth were restored, but were once more captured by the Spartans, and in 389 B.C. the Spartans invaded and ravaged Argos. As regards the Corinthian war the next two years form a *hiatus*, but in 387 B.C. the Peace of Antalcidas put an end to hostilities. In order to attain this consummation Sparta submitted to the dictation of the Great King and surrendered to him the Asiatic Greeks, but in return she was enabled to break up the alliance and to regain much of her lost power. However inauspicious the war may have turned out for Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, Athens was certainly the gainer by it. Her Long Walls, the bulwarks of her independence, had been rebuilt, and instead of being at the mercy of Sparta, she won back by the cession to her of Imbros, Lemnos, and Scyros, something even of her island empire. From the innuendo in § 57 respecting the Spartan betrayal of the Greek cities in Asia Minor, the *Epitaphios* seems to have been written after the Peace of Antalcidas, and as that treaty marked the termination of the Corinthian war we shall probably be right in taking 387 B.C. as the date of the composition. This conclusion is not invalidated by the disguises of § 68, since fidelity to historical truth is elsewhere postponed to the exigencies of rhetoric.

## IV.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPEECH.

In any attempt to estimate his performance it is only fair to remember that Lysias had not a free hand. Already in discussing *epitaphii* as a class as well as various questions connected with the speech itself, the work has been partially characterized. It has been pointed out that display both in style and in the treatment of the subjects is essential to the *epitaphios*, which was not only a patriotic effusion, but a popular address delivered at a supreme moment of national consciousness. The criticism therefore which condemns the



speech for its 'bombast' is simply irrelevant. The style is best vindicated by its intrinsic fitness for the subject<sup>1</sup>. It is needful further to explain the exclusion of almost all personal interest in Lysias' *réchauffé* of the old legends, which makes the recital somewhat tame to our ears and which may be mistakenly attributed to a defective imagination. For one thing it is clear that this was the conventional manner<sup>2</sup>, and while the motive may originally have been to humour democratic prejudice, not only did the homogeneousness of the speech depend on it, but the spell derived from the surroundings would have been at once broken by antiquarian suggestions. As strict accuracy is of no consequence to the splendour of the panorama, the worth of a panegyric considered as a historical document need not be taken into account. There are, however, two ways in which we may regard an *epitaphios*, (i) as a creation of art, (ii) as a means of moral instruction. In the case of a composition like the *Epitaphios* it is far easier to appreciate the infinite pains bestowed on its production than the results which it was thus sought to attain. Antithesis rules in the minutest details, and besides this, exactness of rhythm, assonance, rhyme, etc. perplex the evolution of the sense. Even in the distraction caused by such unfamiliar effects, to which the modulation of the orator's voice might easily reconcile us, we cannot but feel that the *Epitaphios* is a masterpiece of oratory. Conceived as a whole the speech produces the same impression of regularity and proportion as a Greek temple or statue. Individual passages also are marked by a dignity and ease which testify to the resource of the artist in a complex and delicate task. It would, however, be an error to look on the *Epitaphios*, as some have done, as if it were merely a display of rhetorical skill. Even epideictic oratory has its serious side, and Schlegel has pointed out the great value of Lysias' oration from the view which it presents of old Attic morals. This morality is not of the kind which springs from reflexion, since we find assumed the legitimacy of revenge. By a singular chance it is Lysias' own brother

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> p. 12.

Polemarchus who supports this opinion in the opening chapter of the *Republic*. Isocrates, not Lysias, was the philosopher and friend of Plato. Nevertheless the general standard of conduct which Lysias exalts is one at which few would cavil when they find in his category of the virtues courage, wisdom, sobriety, love of country, humanity and piety in the full sense of that word. The ideal of life which Lysias delineates in the large *βίος* of the Athenian state corresponds in a striking manner with Solon's sketch of his countryman Tellus.

'To Tellus, when his city was prosperous, were given good and beautiful children, and to all of them he saw offspring born, of whom all survived. And when he was well off in life as things are with us there came upon him the brightest close of his days. For when a battle came to pass betwixt the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis, having gone to help and routed the foemen, he died most gloriously, and the Athenians buried him publicly where he fell and honoured him greatly<sup>1</sup>.'

The ties of family which are dwelt upon in the above passage are not neglected in the latter portion of Lysias' speech, in which he descants on the immensity of the sacrifice demanded of Athenian parents. In like manner Lysias tells us that fame alone converts existence into a blessing,—else death quits the score. Such a life it is evident is almost wholly outward and its satisfactoriness dependent on the good feeling of others. There is however no reason for believing that human society was better at Athens than elsewhere or at other periods of the world's history. For although the very existence of such an ideal as that of which this speech is the record should forbid our taking too low a view of ordinary Athenian character, yet it is impossible not to be struck by Lysias'<sup>2</sup> reflexions on the less noble traits in his countrymen's nature—reflexions which might serve to justify the choice of our great dramatist when he makes Athens the birthplace and abode of a Timon.

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Epit. §§ 73, 74.



## LYSIAS, EPITAPHIOS.

### SCENE—THE CERAMICUS.

*My subject, which is the high merit of those who are buried here, is one to which it would be impossible under any circumstances to do justice. Happily I have not to match myself against the dead, but against my predecessors in this post.*

- 1 Εἰ μὲν ἡγούμην οἶόν τε εἶναι, ὧ παρόντες ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ, λόγῳ δηλῶσαι τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀρετὴν, ἐμεμψάμην ἂν τοῖς ἐπαγγείλασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ πᾶς χρόνος οὐχ ἱκανὸς λόγον ἴσον παρασκευάσαι 5 τοῖς τούτων ἔργοις, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἡγουμένη οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ξυγγνώ-  
2 μης αὐτοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. Ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος μοι περὶ τούτων, ὁ δ' ἄγων οὐ πρὸς 10 τὰ τούτων ἔργα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας. Τοσαύτην γὰρ ἀφθονίαν παρεσκεύασεν ἡ τούτων ἀρετὴ καὶ τοῖς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις καὶ τοῖς εἰπεῖν βουληθείσιν, ὥστε καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοῖς πρότεροις περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρῆσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ κάκεινοις 15 παραλελείφθαι, ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἐξεῖ-

ναι εἰπεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ γῆς ἄπειροι οὔτε θαλάττης  
οὐδεμιᾶς, πανταχοῦ δὲ καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις  
οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν πενθοῦντες κακὰ τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς  
ὑμνοῦσιν.

*First let me speak of our forefathers and their achievements.*

- 5 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοὺς παλαιοὺς κινδύνους τῶν προ- 3  
γόνων δίειμι, μνήμην παρὰ τῆς φήμης λαβών· ἄξιον  
γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κάκελναι μεμνησθαι, ὑμνοῦντας  
μὲν ἐν ταῖς ᾠδαῖς, λέγοντας δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
μνήμαις, τιμῶντας δ' ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιούτοις,  
10 παιδεύοντας δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἔργοις τοὺς  
ζῶντας.

*In those far-off times the Amazons made a descent on our country, but our forefathers proved to them that they were but women and not one returned of the presumptuous race.*

- Ἀμαζόνες γὰρ Ἄρεως μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ἦσαν θυγα- 4  
τέρες, οἰκοῦσαι δὲ παρὰ τὸν Θερμῶδοντα ποταμόν,  
μόναι μὲν ὥπλισμέναι σιδήρῳ τῶν περὶ αὐτάς, πρῶται  
15 δὲ τῶν πάντων ἐφ' ἵππους ἀναβᾶσαι, οἷς ἀνελπίστως  
δι' ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἦρουν μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας,  
ἀπέλειπον δὲ τοὺς διώκοντας, ἐνομίζοντο διὰ τὴν εὐ-  
ψυχίαν μᾶλλον ἄνδρες ἢ διὰ τὴν φύσιν γυναῖκες·  
πλέον γὰρ ἐδόκουν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς διαφέρειν  
20 ἢ ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐλλείπειν. Ἀρχουσαι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν, 5  
καὶ ἔργῳ μὲν τοὺς περὶ αὐτάς καταδεδουλωμένας,  
λόγῳ δὲ περὶ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀκούουσαι κλέος μέγα,  
πολλῆς δόξης καὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος χάριν παραλαβοῦ-  
σαι τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τήνδε

τὴν πόλιν· τυχούσαι δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίαις ἐκτέ-  
 σαντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῇ φύσει, καὶ ἐναντίαν τὴν δόξαν  
 τῆς προτέρας λαβοῦνται μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἢ  
 6 ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἔδοξαν εἶναι γυναῖκες. Μόναίς δ'  
 αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐξεγένετο ἐκ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων μαθού- 5  
 σαις ἄμεινον περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βουλευσασθαι, οὐδ' οἴ-  
 καδε ἀπελθούσαις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὴν τε σφετέραν αὐ-  
 τῶν δυστυχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων ἀρετὴν·  
 αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἀποθανοῦσαι, καὶ δοῦσαι δίκην τῆς ἀνοίας,  
 τῆσδε μὲν τῆς πόλεως διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατον τὴν 10  
 μνήμην ἐποίησαν, τὴν δ' ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα διὰ τὴν  
 ἐνθάδε ξυμφορὰν ἀνώνυμον κατέστησαν. Ἐκεῖναι μὲν  
 οὖν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἀδίκως ἐπιθυμήσασαι τὴν αὐτῶν  
 δικαίως ἀπώλεσαν.

*When too the Cadmeans wickedly refused the burial of the  
 Argive dead, our forefathers interposed in pure disin-  
 terestedness and obtained by force the performance of the  
 customary rites.*

7 Ἀδράστου δὲ καὶ Πολυνέλκους ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατευ- 15  
 σάντων καὶ ἡττηθέντων μάχῃ, οὐκ ἐόντων τῶν Καδ-  
 μείων θάπτειν τοὺς νεκρούς, Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγησάμενοι ἐκεί-  
 νους μὲν, εἴ τι ἡδίκουν, ἀποθανόντας δίκην ἔχειν τὴν  
 μεγίστην, τοὺς δὲ κάτω τὰ αὐτῶν οὐ κομίζεσθαι,  
 ἱερῶν δὲ μαινομένων τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖσθαι, τὸ 20  
 μὲν πρῶτον πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν δοῦναι  
 8 τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν, νομίζοντες ἀνδρῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν  
 εἶναι ζῶντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρήσασθαι, ἀπιστούντων  
 δὲ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων σώμασι τὴν  
 εὐψυχίαν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τούτου τυ- 25  
 χεῖν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐδεμιᾶς διαφορᾶς πρό-

τερον πρὸς Καδμείους ὑπαρχούσης, οὐδὲ τοῖς ζῶσιν  
 Ἀργείων χαριζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἐν τῷ πο-  
 λέμφῳ ἀξιοῦντες τῶν νομιζομένων τυγχάνειν πρὸς τοὺς 9  
 ἐτέρους ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἐκινδύνευσαν, ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν,  
 5 ἵνα μηκέτι εἰς τοὺς τεθνεώτας ἐξαμαρτάνουντες πλείω  
 περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξυβρίσωσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἵνα  
 μὴ πρότερον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωσι πατρὶου τιμῆς  
 ἀτυχήσαντες καὶ Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου στερηθέντες καὶ  
 κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμαρτηκότες. Ταῦτα δὴ διανοηθέντες, 10  
 10 καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμφῳ τύχας κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἀν-  
 θρώπων νομίζοντες, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κτώμενοι,  
 τὸ δὲ δίκαιον ἔχοντες ξύμμαχον ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι.  
 Καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης ἐπαρθέντες μείζονος παρὰ  
 Καδμείων τιμωρίας ἐπεθύμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀντὶ  
 15 τῆς ἀσεβείας τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπέδειξαντο, αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ λαβόντες τὰ ἄθλα ὧν περ ἔνεκεν ἀφίκοντο, τοὺς  
 Ἀργείων νεκρούς, ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν Ἑλευσίνι. Περὶ  
 μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀποθανόντας τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας τοιοῦ-  
 τοι γεγόνασιν.

*Afterwards the children of Heracles took refuge in our city,  
 and rather than give them up on the demand of Eurystheus  
 our forefathers met the entire forces of the Peloponnese and  
 defeated them.*

20 Ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ, ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώ- 11  
 πων ἠφανίσθη, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφευγον μὲν Εὐ-  
 ρυσθέα, ἐξηλαύνοντο δ' ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων,  
 αἰσχυνομένων μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις, φοβουμένων δὲ τὴν Εὐ-  
 ρυσθέως δύναμιν, ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἰκέ-  
 25 ται ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν ἐκαθέζοντο· ἐξαιτουμένου δ' αὐ- 12  
 τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐκδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ

τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον ἡδοῦντο, ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον  
τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ ἡξίουν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀσθενεστέ-  
ρων μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς  
δυναμένοις χαριζόμενοι τοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένους  
13 ἐκδοῦναι. Ἐπιστρατεύσαντος δ' Εὐρυσθέως μετὰ τῶν 5  
ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Πελοπόννησον ἐχόντων, οὐκ ἐγ-  
γὺς τῶν δεινῶν γενόμενοι μετέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐ-  
τὴν εἶχον γνώμην ἥνπερ πρότερον, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν  
ἰδίᾳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐκείνους τ'  
14 οὐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοί τινες ἄνδρες γενόμενοι ἔσονται, δι- 10  
καιον δὲ νομίζοντες εἶναι, οὐ προτέρας ἐχθρας ὑπαρ-  
χούσης πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα, οὐδὲ κέρδους προκειμένου πλὴν  
δόξης ἀγαθῆς, τοσοῦτον κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἥραντο,  
τοὺς μὲν ἀδικουμένους ἐλεοῦντες, τοὺς δ' ὑβρίζοντας  
μισοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κωλύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες, τοῖς 15  
δ' ἐπικουρεῖν ἀξιοῦντες, ἡγούμενοι ἐλευθερίας μὲν ση-  
μεῖον εἶναι μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄκοντας, δικαιοσύνης δὲ τοῖς  
ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν, εὐνυχίας δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφο-  
15 τέρων, εἰ δέοι, μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν. Τοσοῦτον δ'  
ἐφρόνουν ἀμφοτέρω, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν μετ' Εὐρυσθέως οὐδὲν 20  
παρ' ἐκόντων ἐζήτουν εὐρέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δ' οὐκ ἡξίουν  
Εὐρυσθέα αὐτὸν ἱκετεύοντα τοὺς ἱκέτας παρ' αὐτῶν ἐξε-  
λεῖν. Παραταξάμενοι δ' ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης  
Πελοποννήσου στρατιὰν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐνίκων μαχομένοι, καὶ  
τῶν Ἡρακλέους παίδων τὰ μὲν σώματα εἰς ἄδειαν κατ- 25  
έστησαν, ἀπαλλάξαντες δὲ τοῦ δέους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς  
ἡλευθέρωσαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκείνους  
16 τοῖς αὐτῶν κινδύνους ἐστεφάνωσαν. Τοσοῦτον δ' εὐτυ-  
χέστεροι παῖδες ὄντες ἐγένοντο τοῦ πατρός· ὁ μὲν γάρ,  
καίπερ ὦν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἷτιος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, 30  
ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλόνικον καὶ φιλότιμον αὐτῷ καταστή-



σας τὸν βίον τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀδικούντας ἐκόλασεν,  
 Εὐρυσθέα δὲ καὶ ἐχθρὸν ὄντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρτά-  
 νογτα οὐχ οἶός τε ἦν τιμωρήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ παῖδες αὐ-  
 τοῦ διὰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπέιδον ἡμέρᾳ τήν  
 5 θ' ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιμωρίαν.

*There is nothing to surprise us in this record of our fore-  
 fathers, remembering their origin and their early attain-  
 ment of political freedom and civilized habits.*

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνους 17  
 μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρωμένοις περὶ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι·  
 ἢ τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ βίου δικαία· οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ  
 πολλοί, πανταχόθεν ξυνειλεγμένοι καὶ ἐτέρους ἐκβα-  
 10 λόντες τὴν ἀλλοτριάν ᾤκησαν, ἀλλ' αὐτόχθονες ὄντες  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκέκτηντο καὶ μητέρα καὶ πατρίδα. Πρῶτοι 18  
 δὲ καὶ μόνοι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκβαλόντες τὰς  
 παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δυναστείας δημοκρατίαν κατε-  
 στήσαντο, ἡγούμενοι τὴν πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὁμόνοιαν  
 15 εἶναι μεγίστην, κοινὰς δ' ἀλλήλοις τὰς ἐκ τῶν κιν-  
 δύνων ἐλπίδας ποιήσαντες ἐλευθέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐπο- 19  
 λιτεύοντο, νόμῳ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ τοὺς κα-  
 κοὺς κολάζοντες, ἡγησάμενοι θηρίων μὲν ἔργον εἶναι  
 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι, ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν  
 20 νόμῳ μὲν ὀρίσιναι τὸ δίκαιον, λόγῳ δὲ πείσιναι, ἔργῳ δὲ  
 τούτοις ὑπηρετεῖν, ὑπὸ νόμου μὲν βασιλευμένους, ὑπὸ  
 λόγου δὲ διδασκομένους.

*Brave and true as the old Athenians were, they were far  
 excelled by their descendants, who fought for the indepen-  
 dence of Hellas against overwhelming odds at Marathon,  
 and drove back the barbarians almost as soon as they had  
 landed.*

Τοιγάρτοι καὶ φύντες καλῶς καὶ γνόντες ὅμοια, 20

πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ οἱ πρόγονοι τῶν ἐν-  
 θάδε κειμένων ἐργάσαντο, αἰμυνηστα δὲ καὶ μεγάλα  
 καὶ πανταχοῦ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων γεγονότες τρόπαια διὰ  
 τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν κατέλιπον. Μόνοι γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀπά-  
 σης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ποδὲς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρ- 5  
 21 βάρων διεκινδύνευσαν. Ὁ γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς οὐκ  
 ἀγαπῶν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζων καὶ  
 τὴν Εὐρώπην δουλώσεσθαι, ἔστειλε πεντήκοντα μυριά-  
 δας στρατιᾶς. Ἠγησάμενοι δέ, εἰ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ἢ  
 ἐκοῦσαν φίλην ποιήσαιτο ἢ ἄκουσαν καταστρέψαιτο, 10  
 ῥαδίως τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἄρξειν, ἀπέβησαν εἰς Μα-  
 ραθῶνα, νομίσαντες οὕτως ἂν ἐρημοτάτους εἶναι ξυμ-  
 μάχων τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ ἔτι στασιαζούσης τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος ᾧ τινι χρὴ τρόπῳ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι,  
 22 τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαιτο. Ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν προτέ- 15  
 ρων ἔργων περὶ τῆς πόλεως τοιαύτη δόξα παρειστήκειν,  
 ὥς εἰ μὲν πρότερον ἐπ' ἄλλην πόλιν ἴασιν, ἐκείνοις  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολεμήσουσι· προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς ἀδι-  
 κουμένοις ἤξουσιν βοηθήσουντες· εἰ δ' ἐνθάδε πρῶτον ἀφί-  
 ξονται, οὐδένας ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων τολμήσειν ἐτέ- 20  
 ρους σώζοντας φανεράν ἔχθραν πρὸς ἐκείνους ὑπὲρ  
 23 αὐτῶν καταθέσθαι. Οἱ μὲν τοίνυν τοιαῦτα διανοοῦντο·  
 οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι οὐ λογισμῷ εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν  
 τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες τὸν εὐκλεῆ  
 θάνατον ἀθάνατον περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καταλείπειν λό- 25  
 γον, οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐναντιῶν, ἀλλὰ  
 τῇ αὐτῶν ἀρετῇ μᾶλλον ἐπίστευσαν καὶ αἰσχυρό-  
 μενοι ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐκ  
 ἀνέμειναν πυθέσθαι οὐδὲ βοηθήσαι τοὺς ξυμμάχους,  
 οὐδ' ᾗθήθησαν δεῖν ἑτέροις τῆς σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι, 30  
 24 ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας. Ταῦτα

μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντες γνόντες ἀπήντων ὀλίγοι πρὸς  
 πολλούς· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς μετὰ  
 πάντων προσθήκειν, ἀγαθὸν δ' εἶναι μετ' ὀλίγων, καὶ  
 τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς ἀλλοτρίας διὰ τὸν θάνατον κεκτη-  
 5 σθαι, τὴν δ' ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων μνήμην ἰδίαν καταλεί-  
 ψειν. Ἡξίου δ', οὗς μὴ μόνοι νικῶεν, οὐδ' ἂν μετὰ  
 ξυμμάχων δύνασθαι· καὶ ἡττηθέντες μὲν ὀλίγῳ τῶν  
 ἄλλων προαπολείσθαι, νικήσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἐλευθερώσειν. Ἄνδρες δ' ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι, καὶ τῶν 25  
 10 μὲν σωμάτων ἀφειδήσαντες, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐ  
 φιλοψυχήσαντες, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς νόμους  
 αἰσχυρόμενοι ἢ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κίνδυνον φο-  
 βούμενοι, ἔστησαν μὲν τρόπαια ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν, ὑπὲρ χρημάτων εἰς τὴν  
 15 ἀλλοτρίαν ἐμβαλόντων, παρὰ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας, 28  
 οὕτω δὲ διὰ ταχέων τὸν κίνδυνον ἐποίησαντο, ὥστε οἱ  
 αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγγειλαν τὴν τ' ἐνθάδε ἀφίξιν  
 τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὴν τῶν προγόνων νίκην. Τοιγάρ-  
 τοι οὐδένες τῶν ἄλλων ἔδεισαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος  
 20 κινδύνου, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας  
 ἦσθησαν· ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, πάλαι τῶν ἔργων  
 γεγενημένων, ὥσπερ καινῶν ὄντων ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦσθαι.

*Subsequently Xerxes the king of Asia himself appeared at the head of an innumerable multitude. His fleet was defeated by the Athenians at Artemisium, but through the massacre of the Spartans at Thermopylae our people had to migrate in a body to escape submission.*

*To the victory at Salamis the Athenians contributed the largest share in the genius of their commander, the number of their ships and the skill of their crews.*

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ξέρξης ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς, 27

καταφρονήσας μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐψευσμένος δὲ τῆς  
ἐλπίδος, ἀτιμαζόμενος δὲ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ, ἀχθόμενος  
δὲ τῇ ξυμφορᾷ, ὀργιζόμενος δὲ τοῖς αἰτίοις, ἀπαθῆς  
δ' ὦν κακῶν καὶ ἄπειρος ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεκάτῃ ἔτει  
παρασκευασάμενος χιλίαις μὲν καὶ διακοσίαις ναυσὶν 5  
ἀφίκετο, τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς οὕτως ἄπειρον τὸ  
πλήθος ἦγεν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀκο-  
λουθήσαντα πολὺ ἂν ἔργον εἴη καταλέξαι· τὸ δὲ μέ-  
28 γιστον σημεῖον τοῦ πλήθους· ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ χιλίαις  
ναυσὶ διαβιβᾶσαι κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον τοῦ Ἑλλησπόν- 10  
του τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐ-  
ρώπην, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἡγούμενος τὴν διατριβὴν οὕτω  
29 πολλὴν ἔσεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὑπεριδὼν καὶ τὰ φύσει πεφυ-  
κότα καὶ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας  
διανοίας δδὼν μὲν διὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἐποίησατο, πλοῦν 15  
δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς ἠνάγκασε γενέσθαι, ζεύξας μὲν τὸν  
Ἑλλησποντον, διορύξας δὲ τὸν Ἀθῶ· ὑφισταμένου οὐ-  
δενός, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀκόντων ὑπακουόντων, τῶν δ'  
ἐκόντων προδιδόντων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν  
ἀμύνασθαι, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ χρημάτων διεφθαρμένοι· ἀμφό- 20  
30 τερα δ' ἦν αὐτοὺς τὰ πείθοντα, κέρδος καὶ δέος. Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι δ' οὕτω διακειμένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτοὶ μὲν εἰς  
τὰς ναῦς ἐμβάντες ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν, Λα-  
κεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν ἔνιοι εἰς Θερμοπύ-  
λας ἀπήντησαν, ἡγούμενοι διὰ τὴν στενότητα τῶν 25  
31 χωρίων τὴν παράδοον οἰοί τ' ἔσεσθαι διαφυλάξαι. Γε-  
νομένου δὲ τοῦ κινδύνου κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἀθη-  
ναῖοι μὲν ἐνίκων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, οὐ  
ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐνδεεῖς γενόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλήθους  
ψευσθέντες καὶ οὐδ' φυλάξειν ᾤοντο καὶ πρὸς οὐδ' κινδ- 30  
νέυσειν ἔμελλον, (ἐδυστύχησαν) οὐχ ἡττηθέντες τῶν

ἐναντίων, ἀλλ' ἀποθανόντες οὐπερ ἐτάχθησαν μάχεσθαι.  
 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν δυστυχησάντων, τῶν δὲ 32  
 τῆς παρόδου κρατησάντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τῇνδε  
 τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι πυθόμενοι μὲν τὴν  
 5 γεγενημένην Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυμφορὰν, ἀποροῦντες δὲ  
 τοῖς περιεστηκόσι πράγμασιν, εἰδότες δ' ὅτι, εἰ μὲν  
 κατὰ γῆν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπαντήσονται, ἐπιπλεύσαν-  
 τες χιλίαις ναυσὶν ἐρήμην τὴν πόλιν λήψονται, εἰ δ'  
 εἰς τὰς τριῆρεις ἐμβήσονται, ὑπὸ τῆς πεζῆς στρατιᾶς  
 10 ἀλώσονται, ἀμφότερα δ' οὐ δυνήσονται, ἀμύνασθαι τε  
 καὶ φυλακὴν ἱκανὴν καταλιπεῖν, δυοῖν δὲ προκειμέ- 33  
 νοιν, πότερον χρὴ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλιπεῖν ἢ μετὰ τῶν  
 βαρβάρων γενομένους καταδουλώσασθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,  
 ἡγησάμενοι κρεῖττον εἶναι μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πενίας καὶ  
 15 φυγῆς ἐλευθερίαν ἢ μετ' ὀνείδους καὶ πλούτου δου-  
 λείαν τῆς πατρίδος, ἐξέλιπον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν  
 πόλιν, ἵν' ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς ἀμ-  
 φοτέρας ἅμα τὰς δυνάμεις κινδυνεύσωσιν ὑπεκθέ- 34  
 μενοι δὲ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ μητέρας εἰς Σα-  
 20 λαμίνα ξυνήθροισιν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων  
 ναυτικόν. Οὐ πολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἦλθε καὶ ἡ  
 πεζὴ στρατιὰ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὃ  
 τίς ἰδὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐφοβήθη, ὥς μέγας καὶ δεινὸς τῇδε  
 τῇ πόλει κίνδυνος ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας  
 25 ἡγωνίσθη; Ποίαν δὲ γνώμην εἶχον ἢ οἱ θεώμενοι τοὺς 35  
 ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις, οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτη-  
 ρίας ἀπίστου καὶ τοῦ προσιόντος κινδύνου, ἢ οἱ μέλ-  
 λοντες ναυμαχήσειν ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλτάτων τῶν ἐν Σα-  
 λαμίनि; οἷς τοσοῦτον πανταχόθεν περιειστῆκει πλήθος 36  
 30 πολεμίων, ὥστε ἐλάχιστον μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν παρ-  
 ὄντων κακῶν τὸ τὸν θάνατον τὸν αὐτῶν προειδέναι,

μεγίστην δὲ ξυμφοράν, ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐτυχήσαν-  
 37 των τοὺς ὑπεκτεθέντας ἡλπιζον πείσεσθαι. Ἡ πον διὰ  
 τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀπορίαν πολλάκις μὲν ἐδεξιώσαντο  
 ἀλλήλους, εἰκότως δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὠλοφύραντο, εἰδό-  
 τες μὲν τὰς σφετέρας ναῦς ὀλίγας οὖσας, ὀρώντες δὲ 5  
 πολλὰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιστάμενοι δὲ τὴν μὲν  
 πόλιν ἡρημωμένην, τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην καὶ με-  
 στήν τῶν βαρβάρων, ἱερῶν δὲ καομένων, ἀπάντων δ'  
 38 ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν δεινῶν, ἀκούοντες δ' ἐν ταὐτῷ ξυμ-  
 μεμιγμένου Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ παιᾶνος, πα- 10  
 ρακελευσμοῦ δ' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κραυγῆς τῶν διαφθει-  
 ρομένων, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης μεστής τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ  
 πολλῶν μὲν ξυμπιπτόντων καὶ φιλίων καὶ πολεμίων  
 ναυαγίων, ἀντιπάλου δὲ πολλὴν χρόνον ῥύσης τῆς ναυ-  
 μαχίας δοκοῦντες τοτὲ μὲν νενικηκέναι καὶ σεσῶσθαι, 15  
 39 τοτὲ δ' ἡττηθῆναι καὶ ἀπολωλέναι. Ἡ πον διὰ τὸν  
 παρόντα φόβον πολλὰ μὲν ᾤθησαν ἰδεῖν ὧν οὐκ εἶδον,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἀκούσαι ὧν οὐκ ἤκουσαν. Ποῖαι δ' οὐχ ἱκε-  
 τεῖαι θεῶν ἐγένοντο ἢ θυσιῶν ἀναμνήσεις, ἑλεός τε  
 παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν πόθος οἰκτός τε πατέρων καὶ 20  
 μητέρων, λογισμὸς δ', εἰ δυστυχήσειαν, τῶν μελλόντων  
 40 ἔσεσθαι κακῶν; Τίς οὐκ ἂν θεῶν ἠλέησεν αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κινδύνου; Ἡ τίς ἀνθρώπων οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐδάκρυσεν, ἢ τίς τῆς τόλμης αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἡγά-  
 σθη; Ἡ πολλὸν πλείστον ἐκείνοι κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀπάν- 25  
 των ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκον καὶ ἐν τοῖς βουλευμασι καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις, ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τὴν  
 πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐμβάντες, τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχὰς  
 ὀλίγας οὖσας ἀντιτάξαντες τῷ πλήθει τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας.  
 41 Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμα- 30  
 χίᾳ, ὅτι κρεῖττον μετ' ὀλίγων (πολιτενομένων) ὑπὲρ

τῆς ἐλευθερίας κινδυνεύειν ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν βασιλευ-  
 μένων ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν δουλείας. Πλείστα δὲ καὶ 42  
 κάλλιστα ἐκείνοι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας  
 ξυμβάλοντο, στρατηγὸν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέα, ἱκανώτατον  
 5 εἰπεῖν καὶ γινῶναι καὶ πράξαι, ναῦς δὲ πλείους τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀπάντων ξυμμάχων, ἄνδρας δ' ἐμπειροτάτους.  
 Καίτοι τίνες ἂν τοῦτοις τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἤρισαν  
 γνώμη καὶ πλήθει καὶ ἀρετῇ; ὥστε δικαίως μὲν ἀναμ- 43  
 φισβήτητα τἀριστεία τῆς ναυμαχίας ἔλαβον παρὰ τῆς  
 10 Ἑλλάδος, εἰκότως δὲ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὁμοουοῦσαν τοῖς  
 κινδύνοις ἐκτήσαντο, γησίαν δὲ καὶ αὐτόχθονα τοῖς  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάροις τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδεί-  
 ξαντο.

*The Peloponnesians, deeming themselves free from any further danger by sea, built a wall across the Isthmus and would have deserted their allies, if the Athenians had not threatened to join the invader with their fleet. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians marched to Plataea and routed the barbarians, while the Athenians conquered the renegade Hellenes.*

*By these proofs of capacity our ancestors were acknowledged on all sides to have earned their claim to be the leaders of Hellas.*

Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιούτους αὐτοὺς παρα- 44  
 15 σχόντες καὶ πολὺ πλείστον τῶν κινδύνων μετασχόντες  
 τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινὴν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἐκτήσαντο· ὕστερον δὲ Πελοποννησίων διατειχιζόντων  
 τὸν Ἰσθμόν, καὶ ἀγαπώντων μὲν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, νομι-  
 ζόντων δ' ἀπηλλάχθαι τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνου,  
 20 καὶ διανοουμένων τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας περιδεῖν ὑπὸ  
 τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους, ὀργισθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι συνε- 45

βούλευον αὐτοῖς, εἰ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔξουσιν, περὶ  
 ἅπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον τεῖχος περιβαλεῖν· εἰ γὰρ  
 αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προδεδομένοι μετὰ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ἔσονται, οὗτ' ἐκείνοις δεήσειν χιλίων νεῶν οὔτε  
 τούτους ὠφελήσειν τὸ ἐν Ἴσθμῳ τεῖχος· ἀκινδύνως 5  
 46 γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν βασιλεύς. Δι-  
 δασκόμενοι δὲ καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄδικά τε  
 ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς βουλευεσθαι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ δίκαιά τε  
 λέγειν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα αὐτοῖς παραινεῖν, ἐβοήθησαν  
 εἰς Πλαταιάς· ἀποδράντων δ' ὑπὸ νύκτα τῶν πλείστων 10  
 ξυμμάχων ἐκ τῶν τάξεων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων,  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ Τεγεᾶται τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 ἐτρέψαντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιῆς πάντας τοὺς  
 Ἕλληνας ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι τοὺς ἀπογόνους τῆς  
 47 ἑλευθερίας καὶ ὑπομείναντας τὴν δουλείαν. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ 15  
 δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καλλίστην τελευτὴν τοῖς προτέροις κιν-  
 δύνουσι ἐπιθέντες, βέβαιοι μὲν τὴν ἑλευθερίαν τῇ Εὐ-  
 ρώπῃ κατειργάσαντο, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ τοῖς κινδύνουσι δόντες  
 ἔλεγχον τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ μόνοι καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων,  
 καὶ πεζομαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 20  
 βαρβάρους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὑπὸ πάντων  
 ἡξιώθησαν, καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἐκινδύνεον καὶ πρὸς οὗς  
 ἐπολέμουν, ἡγεμόνες γενέσθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

*Rivalry and envy afterwards caused the Hellenes to make  
 war on one another, and the Corinthians availed themselves  
 of the absence of our army and fleet in Aegina and Egypt  
 to occupy Geraneia. They were, however, attacked by  
 Myronides with a force of old men and boys and defeated.*

48 Ὅτῳτ' ἐρ' δὲ χρόνῳ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου καταστάντος  
 διὰ ζῆλον τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ φθόνον τῶν πεπραγ- 25



μένων, μέγα μὲν ἅπαντες φρονούντες, μικρῶν δ'  
 ἐγκλημάτων ἕκαστοι δεόμενοι, ναυμαχίας Ἀθηναίους  
 πρὸς Αἰγυπτίας καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων ζυμμάχους γενομένης  
 ἐβδομήκοντα τριῆρεις αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον. Πολιορκούντων 49  
 5 δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Αἴγιναν,  
 καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπούσης ἔν τε ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ  
 περὶ στρατεύματι, Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων ζύμμαχοι,  
 ἡγούμενοι ἢ εἰς ἔρημον τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλεῖν ἢ ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου ἀπάξειν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐξελθόντες πανδημεῖ  
 10 Γεράνειαν κατέλαβον Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπόντων, 50  
 τῶν δ' ἐγγὺς ὄντων, οὐδένα ἐτόλμησαν μεταπέμψασθαι  
 ταῖς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς πιστεύσαντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιόντων  
 καταφρονήσαντες οἳ τε γεραίτεροι καὶ οἱ τῆς ἡλικίας  
 ἐντὸς γεγονότες ἤξιουν αὐτοὶ μόνοι τὸν κίνδυνον ποιή-  
 15 σασθαι, οἱ μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ἀρετὴν, οἱ δὲ φύσει 51  
 κεκτημένοι· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ πολλαχοῦ ἀγαθοὶ γεγεν-  
 ημένοι, οἱ δ' ἐκείνους μιμούμενοι, τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων  
 ἄρχειν ἐπισταμένων, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων τὸ ἐπιταττόμενον  
 ποιεῖν δυναμένων, Μυρωνίδου στρατηγούontos ἀπαντῇ- 52  
 20 σαντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι  
 ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνων τοῖς ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι  
 καὶ τοῖς οὐπω δυναμένοις, τοὺς εἰς τὴν σφετέραν  
 ἐμβαλεῖν ἀξιώσαντας εἰς τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἀπαντήσαντες,  
 τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες καλλίστου μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔργου, 53  
 25 αἰσχίστου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις, οἱ μὲν οὐκέτι τοῖς σώμασιν,  
 οἱ δ' οὐπω δυνάμενοι, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀμφότεροι κρείτ-  
 τους γενόμενοι, μετὰ καλλίστης δόξης εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν  
 ἀπελθόντες οἱ μὲν πάλιν ἐπαιδεύοντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν  
 λοιπῶν ἐβουλευόντο.

*It would not be easy for one speaker to recapitulate all the gallant deeds of our countrymen. During their seventy years' command of the sea, tyrants were unknown, nor was any Greek city enslaved by the barbarians. Hence it follows that the Athenians alone deserve to be the presidents of Hellas.*

- 54 Καθ' ἕκαστον μὲν οὖν οὐ ῥᾶδιον τὰ ὑπὸ πολλῶν  
κινδυνευθέντα ὑφ' ἐνὸς ῥηθῆναι, οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ  
χρόνῳ πραχθέντα ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δηλωθῆναι. Τίς γὰρ  
ἂν ἡ χρόνος ἢ λόγος ἢ ῥήτωρ ἱκανὸς γένοιτο μηνῦσαι  
55 τὴν τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴν; Μετὰ πλεί- 5  
στων γὰρ πόνων καὶ φανερωτάτων ἀγώνων καὶ καλ-  
λίστων κινδύνων ἐλευθέραν μὲν ἐποίησαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα,  
μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, ἐβδομή-  
κοντα μὲν ἔτη τῆς θαλάττης ὄρξαντες, ἀστασιάστους  
56 δὲ παρασχόντες τοὺς συμμάχους, οὐ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς 10  
πολλοὺς δουλεύειν ἀξιώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν  
ἅπαντας ἀναγκάσαντες, οὐδὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀσθε-  
νεῖς ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ κάκεινους ἰσχυροὺς καθιστάντες,  
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐπιδείξαντες, ὥσθ'  
· ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς οὐκέτι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπεθύμει, 15  
57 ἀλλ' ἐδίδου τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐφο-  
βέιτο, καὶ οὔτε τριήρεις ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκ τῆς  
'Ασίας ἐπλευσαν, οὔτε τύραννος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κατ-  
έστη, οὔτε Ἑλληνὶς πόλις ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡνδρα-  
ποδίσθη. Τοσαύτην σωφροσύνην καὶ δέος ἢ τούτων 20  
ἀρετὴ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρείχεν· ὧν ἕνεκα δεῖ μόνους  
καὶ προστάτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡγεμόνας τῶν πόλεων  
γίγνεσθαι.

*In adversity also our people displayed their great qualities. After their overthrow tyranny was universal and the barbarians once more sailed to our shores. Liberty however was won back for Athens by the courage of the democrats in the Piraeus who afterwards showed exemplary moderation.*

Ἐπέδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις τὴν ἑαυτῶν 58  
 ἀρετὴν. Ἀπολομένων γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ  
 εἴτε ἡγεμόνων κακίᾳ εἴτε θεῶν δυσνοίᾳ, καὶ ξυμφορᾶς  
 ἐκείνης μεγίστης γενομένης καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς δυστυχῆσιν  
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσιν, ἐδήλωσαν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
 ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν  
 σωτηρία. Ἐτέρων γὰρ ἡγεμόνων γενομένων ἐνίκησαν 59  
 μὲν ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ πρότερον εἰς τὴν  
 θάλατταν οὐκ ἐμβαίνοντες, ἔπλευσαν δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην,  
 10 δουλεύουσι δὲ πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τύραννοι δ' ἐγκα-  
 θεστᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ξυμφοράν, οἱ δὲ  
 μετὰ τὴν νίκην τῶν βαρβάρων. ὥστ' ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ 60  
 τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ τότε κείρασθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ πενθήσθαι  
 τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους, ὡς ξυγκαταθαπτομένης τῆς  
 15 αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας τῇ τούτων ἀρετῇ ὡς δυστυχῆς μὲν  
 ἡ Ἑλλὰς τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ὀρφανὴ γενομένη, εὐτυχῆς  
 δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς ἐτέρων ἡγεμόνων λαβόμενος,  
 τῇ μὲν γὰρ τούτων στερηθείσῃ δουλείᾳ περιέστηκε, τῷ  
 δ' ἄλλων ἀρξάντων ζῆλος ἐγγίγνεται τῆς τῶν προγόνων  
 20 διανοίας. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξήχθη ὑπὲρ πάσης 61  
 ὀλοφύρασθαι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν  
 ἄξιον καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ μεμνήσθαι, οἱ φεύγοντες τὴν  
 δουλείαν καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου μαχόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 δημοκρατίας στασιάσαντες, πάντας πολεμίους κεκτη-  
 25 μένοι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατῆλθον, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμου ἀναγ-

κασθέντες, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πεισθέντες, καινοῖς  
 κινδύνοις τὴν παλαιὰν ἀρετὴν τῶν προγόνων μιμησάμενοι,  
 62 ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κοιῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 κτησάμενοι, θάνατον μετ' ἐλευθερίας αἰρούμενοι ἢ βίον  
 μετὰ δουλείας, οὐχ ἥττον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς αἰσχυρόμενοι 5  
 ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὀργιζόμενοι, μᾶλλον βουληθέντες ἐν τῇ  
 αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ ζῆν τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν οἰκοῦντες,  
 ξυμμάχους μὲν ὄρκους καὶ ξυυθήκας ἔχοντες, πολεμίους  
 δὲ τοὺς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς  
 63 ἑαυτῶν. Ἄλλ' ὅμως οὐ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐναντίων 10  
 φοβηθέντες, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδυνεύ-  
 σαντες, τρόπαιον μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἔστησαν, μάρτυρας  
 δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοῦδε τοῦ μνήματος  
 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων τάφους παρέχονται. Τοιγάρτοι  
 μεγάλην μὲν ἀντὶ μικρᾶς ἀπέδειξαν τὴν πόλιν, ὁμοιοῦ- 15  
 σαν δ' ἀντὶ στασιαζούσης ἀπέφηναν, τείχη δ' ἀντὶ  
 64 τῶν καθηρημένων ἀνέστησαν. Οἱ δὲ κατελθόντες αὐ-  
 τῶν, ἀδελφὰ τὰ βουλευόμενα τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν ἐνθάδε  
 κειμένων ἐπιδεικνύντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως ἐτράποντο, καὶ οὐτ' 20  
 ἐλαττοῦσθαι δυνάμενοι οὐτ' αὐτοὶ πλεον ἔχειν δεόμενοι  
 τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις δου-  
 λεύειν μετέδοσαν, τῆς δ' ἐκείνων δουλείας αὐτοὶ μετέ-  
 65 χειν οὐκ ἤξιωσαν. Ἔργοις δὲ μεγίστοις καὶ καλλίστοις  
 ἀπελογίσαντο, ὅτι οὐ κακίᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀρετῇ τῶν 25  
 πολεμίων πρότερον ἐδυστύχησεν ἢ πόλιν· εἰ γὰρ στα-  
 σιάσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους βίᾳ παρόντων Πελοποννησίων  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν οἰοί τ' ἐγένοντο  
 κατελθεῖν, δῆλον ὅτι ῥαδίως ἂν ὁμοιοῦντες πολεμεῖν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐδύναντο.

*The brave foreigners who supported the popular cause must not be forgotten.*

Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν διὰ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεὶ κινδύνους 66  
ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ζηλοῦνται· ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
ξένους τοὺς ἐνθάδε κειμένους ἐπαινέσαι, οἱ τῷ πλήθει  
βοηθήσαντες καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας μα-  
5 χόμενοι, πατρίδα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡγησάμενοι, τοιαύτην τοῦ  
βίου τελευτήν ἐποιήσαντο· ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ πόλις αὐτοὺς καὶ  
ἐπέμψησε καὶ ἔθαψε δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς  
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον τὰς αὐτὰς τιμὰς τοῖς ἀστοῖς.

*Those whom we are now burying were men of conspicuous merit. Forgetting past quarrels they generously assisted the Corinthians to retain their freedom and in so doing lost their lives.*

Οἱ δὲ νῦν θαπτόμενοι, βοηθήσαντες Κορινθίοις ὑπὸ 67  
10 παλαιῶν φίλων ἀδικουμένοις καινοὶ ξύμμαχοι γενόμενοι,  
οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες (οἱ μὲν  
γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἐφθόουν, οἱ δ' ἀδικουμένους  
αὐτοὺς ἠλέουν, οὐ τῆς προτέρας ἔχθρας μεμνημένοι,  
ἀλλὰ τὴν παρούσαν φιλίαν περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενοι)  
15 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεράν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο.  
Ἐτόλμησαν γὰρ μεγάλην ποιοῦντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ 68  
μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλευθερίας ἀποθνήσκειν· τοῖς  
γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις περὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευ-  
20 θερίας ἐμάχοντο. Νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνους τῶν  
αὐτῶν ἠξίου, δυστυχήσαντες δὲ βέβαιοι ἂν τὴν  
δουλείαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ κατέλειπον.

*Enviabie indeed is the lot of such men whether in living or dying, but it is far otherwise with their relations, whose distress we must try to alleviate by our attentions.*

- 69 Ἐκείνοις μὲν οὖν οὕτω διακειμένοις ὁ βίος οἰκτρὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος εὐκτός· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ ζῶντες καὶ ἀποθανόντες ζηλωτοί, παιδευθέντες μὲν ἐν τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἀγαθοῖς, ἄνδρες δὲ γενόμενοι τὴν τ' ἐκείνων δόξαν διασώσαντες καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν ἐπιδείξαντες. 5
- 70 Πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ καλῶν αἵτιοι γεγέννηται τῇ ἑαυτῶν πατρίδι, ἐπηνώρθωσαν δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἐτέρων δυστυχηθέντα, πόρρω δ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῶν τὸν πόλεμον μετέστησαν· ἐτελεύτησαν δὲ τὸν βίον, ὥσπερ χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποθνήσκειν, τῇ μὲν πατρίδι τὰ τροφεῖα ἀποδόντες, τοῖς 10
- 71 δὲ θρέψασι λύπας καταλιπόντες, ὥστ' ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τούτους ποθεῖν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὀλοφύρεσθαι καὶ τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτῶν ἐλεεῖν τοῦ ἐπιλοΐπου βίου. Τίς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔτι ἡδονὴ καταλείπεται τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν θαπτομένων, οἳ πάντα περὶ ἐλάττους τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡγού- 15
- μενοι αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀπεστέρησαν βίου, χήρας δὲ γυναικας ἐποίησαν, ὀρφανοὺς δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας ἀπέλιπον, ἐρήμους δ' ἀδελφοὺς καὶ πατέρας καὶ μητέρας κατέστησαν ;
- 72 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοὺς μὲν παῖδας αὐτῶν ζηλῶ, ὅτι νεώτεροί εἰσιν ἢ ὥστ' εἰδέναι οἷων 20
- πατέρων ἐστέρηνται, ἐξ ὧν δ' οὗτοι γεγόνασιν, οἰκτεῖρω, ὅτι πρεσβύτεροι ἢ ὥστ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς δυστυχίας τῆς
- 73 ἑαυτῶν. Τί γὰρ ἂν τούτων ἀνιαιρότερον γένοιτο, ἢ τεκεῖν μὲν καὶ θρέψαι τοὺς αὐτῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ ἀδυνάτους μὲν εἶναι τῷ σώματι, πασῶν δ' ἀπεστερημένους 25
- τῶν ἐλπιδῶν ἀφίλους καὶ ἀπόρους γεγονέναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν πρότερον ζηλοῦσθαι καὶ νῦν ἐλεεῖσθαι, ποθεινότερον δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βίου ;

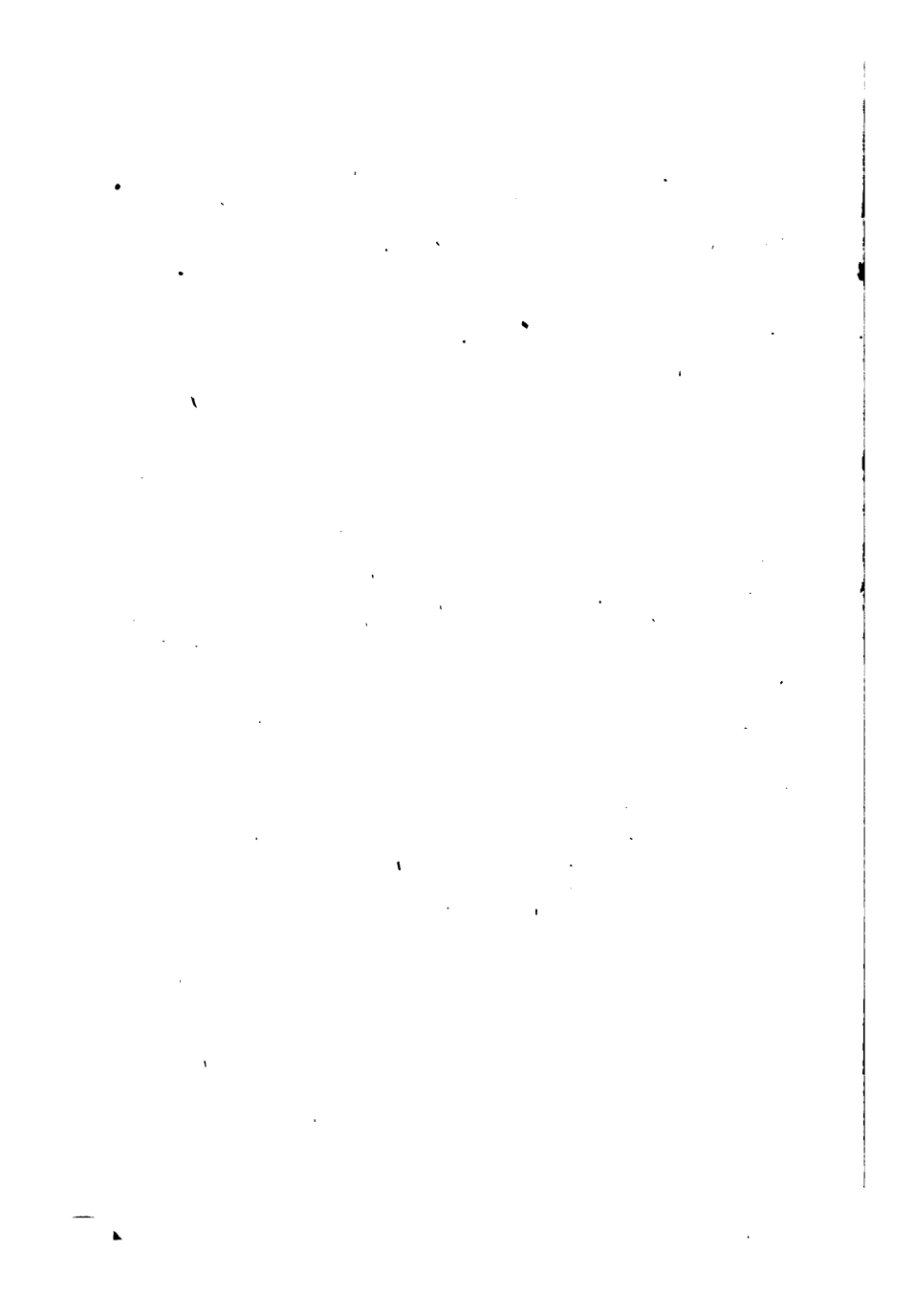
'Οσφ γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν, τοσούτῳ τοῖς κατα-  
 λειπομένοις τὸ πένθος μείζον. Πῶς δ' αὐτοὺς χρητὴρ 74  
 λήξαι τῆς λύπης; Πότερον ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως συμ-  
 φοραῖς; Ἀλλὰ τότε αὐτῶν εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 5 μεμνησθαι. Ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς;  
 Ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν λυπήσαι, τῶν μὲν σφετέρων τέκνων τετε-  
 λευτηκότων, τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἀπολαούντων τῆς τούτων  
 ἀρετῆς. Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις, ὅταν ὀρώσι τοὺς  
 μὲν πρότερον ὄντας φίλους φεύγοντας τὴν αὐτῶν  
 10 ἀπορίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς μέγα φρονούντας ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 δυστυχίαις ταῖς τούτων; Μόνην δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν 75  
 ταύτην τοῖς ἐνθάδε κειμένοις ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, εἰ τοὺς  
 μὲν τοκέας αὐτῶν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι περὶ πολλοῦ  
 ποιοίμεθα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὕτως ἀσπαζοίμεθα ὥσπερ  
 15 αὐτοὶ πατέρες ὄντες, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶν εἰ τοιούτους  
 βοηθοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοιμεν, οἷοιπερ ἐκείνοι ζῶντες  
 ἦσαν. Τίνας γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως μᾶλλον τιμῶμεν τῶν 76  
 ἐνθάδε κειμένων; Τίνας δ' ἂν τῶν ζώντων δικαιότερον  
 περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοίμεθα ἢ τοὺς τούτοις προσήκοντας, οἱ  
 20 τῆς μὲν τούτων ἀρετῆς τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπέλαυσαν,  
 ἀποθανόντων δὲ μόνοι γνησίως τῆς δυστυχίας μετέχουσιν.

*And yet I do not see why we should indulge our grief in the  
 presence of the great leveller. Our friends we knew were  
 but mortal—they have come to a most glorious end and  
 their memory will be always cherished. Still old customs  
 must be observed.*

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι δεῖ τοιαῦτα ὀλοφύρεσθαι 77  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐλανθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὄντες θνητοί· ὥστε  
 τί δεῖ, ἃ πάλαι προσεδοκῶμεν πείσεσθαι, ὑπὲρ τούτων  
 25 νῦν ἀχθεσθαι, ἢ λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς  
 φύσεως συμφοραῖς, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι ὁ θάνατος κοινὸς

καὶ τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις ; Οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς  
 πονηροὺς ὑπερορᾷ οὔτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' ἴσον  
 78 ἑαυτὸν παρέχει πᾶσιν. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν τοῖς τοὺς  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κινδύνους διαφυγοῦσιν ἀθανάτους εἶναι  
 τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἄξιον τοῖς ζῶσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον 5  
 πενθεῖν τοὺς τεθνεώτας· νῦν δὲ ἡ τε φύσις καὶ νόσων  
 ἥττων καὶ γήρως, ὃ τε δαίμων ὃ τὴν ἡμετέραν μοῖραν  
 79 εἰληχῶς ἀπαράλιττος· ὥστε προσήκει τούτους εὐδαι-  
 μονεστάτους ἡγεῖσθαι, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων καὶ  
 καλλίστων κινδυνεύσαντες οὕτω τὸν βίον ἐτελεύτησαν, 10  
 οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τῇ τύχῃ, οὐδ'  
 ἀναμείναντες τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ἐκλεξάμενοι  
 τὸν κάλλιστον. Τοιγάρτοι ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ  
 80 μνήμαι, ζηλωτοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱ τιμαί· οἱ  
 πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὥς θνητοί, ὕμνουνται δ' 15  
 ὥς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Τοιγάρτοι θάπτονται  
 δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἀγῶνες τίθενται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς βώμης καὶ  
 σοφίας καὶ πλούτου, ὥς ἀξίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 τετελευτηκότας ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς αἷς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανά-  
 81 τοὺς τιμᾶσθαι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω τοῦ 20  
 θανάτου καὶ ζηλῶ, καὶ μόνοις τούτοις ἀνθρώπων οἶμαι  
 κρεῖττον εἶναι γενέσθαι, οἵτινες, ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων  
 ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέ-  
 λιπον· ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ξέθеси χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 θεραπεύοντας τὸν πάτριον νόμον δλοφύρεσθαι τοὺς 25  
 θαπτομένους.





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L Y S I A S

EPITAPHIOS

EDITED

*WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES*

BY

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PART II.—NOTES

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## NOTES.

THE speech is divisible into three parts: (i) *ἔπαινος* (the laudation), §§ 1-69; (ii) *θρήνος* (the lament), §§ 69-77; (iii) *παράμυθια* (the consolation), §§ 77-81.

### §§ 1, 2. προοίμιον.

In English no doubt the formal address would precede, and that **Page 23.** order also occurs in Greek, e.g. Dem. c. Lept. 1 *ἄνδρες δικασταί, μάλιστα μὲν*, etc., but it is extremely rare. The position of the address here is determined by rhythmical considerations (*παρίσσωσις*). For the substantival use of the participle cp. Antipho 1. 7 *ἰδικάζοντες*. The confession of inadequacy is a common-place in funeral panegyrics (cp. § 54 *infra*). Pericles (Thuc. 2. 35) laments that the merits of the dead should be trusted to anything so precarious as the utterance of a single orator; while Demosthenes (Epit. p. 1389. § 1) asserts that the heroism of his subjects transcends the power of human speech. Hyperides also (Epit. Col. ii) talks in a similar strain. On excuses like these Isocrates (Panegyric. 13) comments in a tone of affected superiority. It must be remembered, however, that the Panegyric was a purely literary product, and Isocrates is by no means consistent in his *θρασύτης*; (cp. Panegyric. 74, 187). As regards the difficulty of funeral harangues, Socrates' humorous disparagement (Plat. Menex. 235 D) does not accord with the testimony of the select orators. Besides the general necessity of goodwill on the part of the audience (Dem. Epit. p. 1393. § 14) the triteness of the themes (Isocr. Panegyric. 74), the emulation of the poets (cp. § 2 *note*), the requisites of style (Isocr. Panegyric. 11), the susceptibility of the Athenian temperament (Thuc. 2. 36. 4), all tended to complicate the situation for an orator who was haunted by the fear of becoming *μακρολόγος* (cp. § 54).—Notice the deictic use of *δε*. *λόγῳ* contrasts with the idea of action contained in *ἀρετήν* (cp. *note* below). Resumed in the next sentence it is there definitely opposed to *τοῖς τούτων ἔργοις*. This antithesis, which we find again, §§ 5, 19, is specially characteristic of Thucydides, who, like Lysias, had studied in the Sicilian school (cp. Marcell. Vit.

LYSIAS' EPITAPHIOS.

**Page 23.** Thuc. 36). Later (cp. § 65), Lysias takes advantage of the standing opposition for an effective metaphor. For another sophistic distinction cp. § 61 *note*. The Panegyric of Isocrates includes (cp. § 47) what might be termed a 'praise' of language; while the pernicious effect of the study of rhetoric on politics is forcibly stated by Thucydides (3. 38).

1. 2. By ἐνθάδε understand 'in the Ceramicus;' cp. the amusing dialogue in Aristophanes:—

ET. ἔτεδον, ἦν δ' ἄρ' ἀποθάνωμεν,  
κατορυχησόμεσθα ποῦ γῆς;

ΠΕ. ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ.  
δημόσια γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν,  
φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς  
μαχομένῳ τοῖς πολεμίοισιν  
ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς. Aves 393-399.

It should be said that all who lie buried in the Ceramicus are the subjects of the panegyric.

1. 3. ἀρετὴ means 'worth,' especially as revealed in action. It includes the notions of mental and physical excellence; cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1394 (§ 17) ἔστι γὰρ ἔστιν ἀπάσης ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ μὲν σύνεσις, πέρας δὲ ἀνδρεία. The term also implies a filial love of country; cp. § 70 *infra*. See note on παιδεύσις, § 3. The opposite ideas are naturally expressed by κακία, cp. §§ 58, 65.

1. 4. ἐξ ὀλιγῶν ἡμερῶν, 'at a few days' notice;' cp. Dem. Olynth. 1. 1 ἐκ τοῦ παράχρημα. In Plato's dialogue (Menex. 235 C) Menexenus observes ἐξ ὑπογούου γὰρ παντάπασις ἡ αἵρεσις γέγονεν ὥστε ἴσως ἀναγκασθήσεται ὁ λέγων ὥσπερ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν.

ἐπειδὴ δέ, etc. For the hyperbole cp. § 2 *note*, §§ 54, 66, etc.

1. 5. ὁ πᾶς χρόνος, 'the whole of time.'

ἴσον, 'commensurate with;' cp. § 20 γνόντες ὁμοία, § 64 ἀδελφὰ τὰ βουλευμένα.

1. 6. καί, 'on her part.'

1. 7. προνοουμένη, 'in kindly provision for.'

ἐνθάδε. Pericles spoke from a βῆμα (cp. Thuc. 2. 34).

πρόσταξις, 'injunction.' The word implies authority; cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1389 (§ 1) ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει καὶ προσέταξε. Isocrates (Panegy. 176) opposes προστάγματα as the articles of a decree to συνθήκαι, contracts between independent parties.

1. 8. ἡγουμένη, etc., assigns the motive; cp. § 7 Ἀθηναῖοι ἡγησάμενοι ἐκείνους μὲν, etc., also §§ 8, 14, etc.

§ 2. 1. 9. ὁμῶς δέ. The transition is rather abrupt. Tr. 'however;' cp. Aesch. Eum. 74 ὁμῶς δέ, φεῦγε.

l. 10. ἀγών. This is undoubtedly one of the occasions to which **Page 23** Cleon alludes (Thuc. 3. 40. 4): *οἱ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἔχουσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσουσιν ἀγῶνα καὶ μὴ*, etc.

l. 12. ἀφθονία, 'abundance of matter.'

l. 13. ποιεῖν, 'to write poetry;' cp. Hdt. 3. 38 *ὁρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι*; also § 3 *infra*. Plato (Menex. 239 B), and Demosthenes (Epit. p. 1391. § 9) also allude to the rivalry of the poets. In nearly the same terms Isocrates (Panegy. § 186) inquires *τίς γὰρ ἡ τῶν ποιεῖν δυναμένων ἢ τῶν λέγειν ἐπισταμένων οὐ ποιήσει*, etc.; cp. § 80.

l. 14. The verb βούλεσθαι has been distinguished from ἐθέλειν as expressing desire without power of fulfilment (Buttmann Lexil. § 35). Tr. 'aspire.' Like other honours the privilege of delivering an oration would appear to rest rather with οἱ τιμῶντες than δ τιμώμενος (Aristot. Eth. Nich. 1. 3. 4). Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1393 (§ 14) *ἡ δὲ τῶν λόγων πειθὼ τῆς τῶν ἀκούοντων εὐνοίας προσδεῖται*.

*καλὰ μὲν πολλὰ*, 'many a graceful tribute;' cp. Pl. Menex. 246 A *πολλὰ μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα καὶ καλὰ*, etc.

'Many beautiful things have been said by my predecessors, many have been omitted by them, and enough is left for those who come after to speak as the theme requires.'

l. 1. οὗτε γάρ, etc. The subject, which is *οἱ ἐνθάδε κείμενοι*, is not **Page 24** expressed, and is therefore to be supplied from the context. Tr. 'For there is no land or sea of which they have not made trial. Everywhere and among all nations they who lament their own ills sing the glories of our dead.' For the hyperbole cp. § 1 *supra*; Dem. Epit. p. 1399 (§ 33) *ποθοῦσι δ' οὐ μόνοι συγγενεῖς καὶ πολῖται ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὄσσην Ἑλλάδα χρὴ προσεπεῖν, συμπεπένθηκε δὲ καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος*.

l. 3. ἀρετάς, cp. § 1 *note*. Observe the pleonasm; cp. Dem. Olynth. 1. 15 *φύσει καὶ δαί*, and the alliteration, for which cp. Lysias 4. 15 *πότερον πρότερον ἐπλήγην ἢ ἐπάταξα*. With the first part of the sentence supply *εἰσί*; cp. § 3 *infra*.

### § 3. πρόθεσις.

The *Epitaphios* of Lysias is distinguished from similar compositions by the fulness and enthusiasm with which he dwells on the old Attica of legend. The language of Demosthenes suggests the perfunctory discharge of a tiresome duty; cp. Epit. p. 1390. Pericles (Thuc. 2. 36) and Socrates (Pl. Menex. 239 B) dismiss these prehistoric achievements with the briefest possible notice, though they are gravely cited

**Page 24.** by the Athenians at Plataea (cp. Hdt. 9. 27) and by the Phliasian envoy (cp. Xen. Hell. 6. 5. 46) as late as 370 B.C., and Aristotle assures us (Rhet. 2. 22. 6) that without such allusions no *epitaphios* would be complete. Hyperides, who in other respects shows himself independent, altogether omits to mention them. Isocrates (Panegy. § 10), in terms which recal Coleridge's criticism (Biog. Lit. c. 16) of the poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, declares himself content to rest his claims rather on the treatment than on the novelty of his subject.

§ 3. 1. 5. *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν*: cp. Lysias 8. 3 *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἵνα μή*, etc. *μὲν οὖν* has a corrective force. Tr. 'however.' Virtually §§ 3-20 form a parenthesis, since the proper subjects of an *epitaphios* are the heroes who are buried in the Ceramicus.

*τοὺς παλαιούς κινδύνους*, 'the old-world adventures;' cp. Isocr. Areop. 75 *τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀγῶσιν*. These hazards are to be regarded as the test (cp. § 5) and sign of their greatness. In historic times the adventurous character of the Athenians remained by them; cp. Thuc. 1. 703 *παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί*.

By *τῶν προγόνων* are meant ancestors who lived prior to the Persian War; cp. § 20, where the words *οἱ πρόγονοι τῶν ἐνθάδε κειμένων* clearly refer back to this section.

1. 6. *δύειμι*, 'will recount;' cp. *διελθεῖν* Pl. Menex. p. 241 A.

*φήμης*, 'tradition;' cp. Isocr. Panegy. 30 *τὴν φήμην ἐκ πολλοῦ παρειλήφαμεν*. The term differs from *ἀκοή* (Thuc. 1. 20) by its weight of religious associations; cp. lexx.

*ἄξιον*, 'right:' sc. *ἐστί*, cp. §§ 2, 60, 61, etc. Notice the change from the dative to the accusative, which is due to the interposition of the infinitive; cp. § 19.

1. 7. *κάκεινων*, as well as *οἱ ἐνθάδε κείμενοι*.

*ὑμνοῦντας*, cp. §§ 1 *note*, 80.

1. 9. *μνήμαις*, 'notices:' the common reading since Bekker. *γνώμαις*, 'maxims,' has much better MS. authority, the Palatine and Laurentian codices supporting it, and we have already *μνήμην* and *μεμνησθαι* in this paragraph. But the sense is obscure. This section forms a brief statement of the system of *μουσική* at Athens; cp. *note* below.

*ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς*. A similar occasion was at the Panathenaic procession when the *Πέπλος* inscribed with the deeds of the national heroes passed from the Ceramicus to the temple on the Acropolis.

1. 10. *παιδεύοντας*, etc. Cp. § 69. The prime object of Greek education was the development of *ἀρετή* (cp. § 1 *note*), *ἐν τοῖς βουλευμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις*, and the final test of its effi-

ciency was self-sacrifice in war; cp. Hyper. Epit. col. v. The Page 24. Greeks however never supposed that this result could be obtained without moral excellence, and accordingly we find that *σωφροσύνη* was an essential object in old Greek education. Cp. Aristoph. Nub. 961.

ΔΙΚ. λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς δέκετο,

ὅτ' ἐγὼ τὰ δίκαια λέγων ἤνθουν καὶ σωφροσύνην 'νερόμστο.

Cp. also Isocr. Panegy. 80-82. The construction *παιδεύειν ἐν* is like *ἀσκεῖν ἐν*.

### §§ 4-7. Ἀμαζόνεια.

Grote says of the invasion of the Amazons, 'Cast back as it was into an undefined past it took rank among the hallowed traditions of divine or heroic antiquity, gratifying to extol by rhetoric but repulsive to scrutinize in argument;' History of Greece c. 11. This state of feeling may help to explain the important divergencies of the present narrative from other accounts, though, as Plutarch says, it is not to be wondered at in the case of transactions so venerable that the history of them should fluctuate. Aeschylus (Eum. 655) refers to the legend of the Amazons at Athens.

1. 12. γὰρ introduces the διήγησις (narrative); cp. Lysias 22. 2 § 4. *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἀπέδοσαν*, etc.

τὸ παλαιόν, 'of old.' Ἀρεως, cp. Eur. Her. Fur. 412 κόρας Ἀρείας (of Hippolyta).

1. 13. Θερμῶδοντα, a river in Pontus; cp. Aesch. Prom. Vinc. 742 ἐνθ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν

ἦξεῖς στουγάνορ' αἱ Θεμισκυράν ποτε  
κατοικοῦσιν ἀμφὶ Θερμῶδονθ'.

Cp. also Verg. Aen. 11. 659.

1. 14. τῶν περὶ αὐτάς, partitive genitive. The construction resembles the comparative use of superlative adjectives, e.g. Tac. Agr. c. 34 'ii ceterorum fugacissimi.'

σιδήρεα. The Amazons were to that extent in advance of their neighbours; cp. Lucr. 5. 1286

Et prior est aeris quam ferri cognitus usus.

Bronze is the metal of Homeric armour, though iron is not unknown.

πρώται δέ, etc.; cp. Eur. Her. Fur. 407

τὸν ἱππευτὰν τ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατόν.

Homer's ἱππηλάται do not ride but are driven in a ἄρμα.

1. 16. ἔθρου μὲν, etc.; imperfect of customary action; cp. § 11.



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**Page 24.** Notice the *parisa* (balanced clauses) and *homoioteleuta* (rhymes), for which cp. §§ 6, 14, etc.

1. 17. εὐψυχία, 'spirit,' shown in danger, § 5.

1. 18. φύσιν, 'sex;' cp. Soph. Trach. 1062

γυνὴ δὲ θῆλυς οὖσα κοῦκ ἀνδρὸς φύσιν.

Lysias describes a state of things quite phenomenal to the later Athenian, for whose ideas regarding the natural sphere of women cp. Xen. Oecon. 7. 42 παρεσκεύασεν ὁ θεὸς ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὰ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἔργα καὶ ἐπιμελήματα· βίγη μὲν γὰρ καὶ θάλατῃ καὶ ὁδοποιείας καὶ στρατείας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μᾶλλον δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν κατεσκεύασεν ὥστε τὰ ἔξω ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ἔργα.

1. 19. πλὴον γάρ, etc. Tr. 'For they seemed more to excel the males in their inner natures than to fall short of them in their outward forms.'

διαφέρειν, 'to surpass.' Cp. § 40 ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων διήνεγκον.

1. 20. ἁλλείπειν, 'to be inferior;' cp. Lysias 31. 3 εἴ τι ἐγὼ ἁλλείπομαι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς κατηγορίας. Verbs implying comparison govern a genitive.

§ 5. ψυχαῖς and ἰδέαις are modal datives. Apollodorus (2. 5. 9) describes the Amazons as an ἔθνος μέγα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον.

ἀρχουσαι. Cp. Chaucer's Knight's Tale, l. 8

'He conquered all the regne of Femynye

That whilom was i-cleped Cithee.'

ἔθνων, 'tribes.' The term expresses a certain degree of barbarism; cp. 'gentiles.'

1. 21. ἔργῳ. Cp. § 1 note.

καταδεδουλωμένοι, 'having in subjection.' The perfect most frequently indicates a resulting state; cp. Soph. Ant. 1278 ἔχων τε καὶ κεκτημένος.

1. 22. λόγῳ δέ, etc. The diction is epic, probably to heighten the irony; cp. Iliad 2. 486

ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.

1. 23. ἐλπίδος, 'prospect.' The Amazons, according to Lysias, expected to find Attica a Μυσῶν λεία, but reckoned without their host. We are reminded of the spirit in which the Athenians of a later day set out for Sicily, cp. Thuc. 6. 24. Plutarch's version says that the Amazons came to avenge the rape of Antiope; cp. Thesens c. 27.

1. 24. τὰ μαχμώτατα, i.e. the Scythians, Isocr. Panegy. 68.

**Page 25.** 11. 1, 2. ὁμοίαις and ἐναντίαις are predicative; cp. Isocr. Panegy. 92 ἴσας δὲ παρασχόντες τὰς τόλμας οὐχ ὁμοίαις ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τύχαις.

1. 4. *μόνας δέ*, etc.: cp. Xen. Cyr. 3. 1. 20 *τοιαύτη ἦτα σωφρο-* Page 25.  
*νίζειν ἱκανή*. The Amazons appear to have been *θεοβλαβεῖς*. The § 6.  
apparent loss of temper in this passage seems more excusable when we  
read that the Athenians set a price on the head of Queen Artemisia,  
and their reason *δαινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῖντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας στρατεύ-*  
*εσθαι* (Hdt. 8. 93).

1. 5. *οὐκ ἐξεγένετο*, 'it was not granted;' cp. Lysias 7. 37 *οὐδ' ἂν*  
*ἀπολογησασθαι μοι ἐξεγένετο. περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*, etc. Cp. § 53.

1. 6. *οὐδ' οἶκαδε*, etc. Lysias evidently means to be severe. He  
forgets, however, Thermopylae (cp. § 31) and the humiliations to  
which the Spartans subjected the survivors of a defeat (cp. Hdt. 7. 231).

1. 8. *δυστυχίαν*, 'mischance;' cp. § 68: like *συμφορά* below,  
euphemistic for *ἦττα*.

1. 9. *αὐτοῦ*, 'on the spot.' So Isocrates (Panegy. 70) says, and  
he further states that the Amazons who had stayed at home were in  
consequence deposed from the sovereignty. Demosthenes (Epit.  
p. 1391. § 8) by a yet bolder flight declares that the Amazons were  
driven beyond the Phasis by his countrymen. The more critical  
Plutarch selects as the most probable account that after indecisive  
battles near the Pnyx and Museum a truce was patched up  
through Hippolyta; cp. Theseus c. 27.

*ἀνοίας*, 'culpable folly;' cp. Dem. Olynth. 1. 16 *ὀφλις-*  
*κάνων ἀνοίαν* of Philip's designs on Attica. *ἀθάνατον μνήμην*,  
cp. § 81.

1. 12. *ξυμφοράν*, cp. *δυστυχία* *supra*. This euphemism is repeated  
§§ 27, 32, 59 *note*. *ἀνώνυμον*, 'ignoble.' Notice the *paria* and  
*homoioteleuta* in these clauses; cp. § 4.

1. 13. *ἀδίκως* ... *δικαίως*. This is a very favourite antithesis; cp.  
Lysias 21. 18 *διὰ ταύτην μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀδίκως συκοφαντεῖσθαι*  
*δὲ ἐκεῖνα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν δικαίως σώζεσθαι*. Cp. also Pl. Menex. 242 B  
*τοὺς ἀδίκως φεύγοντας δικαίως κατήγαγον*.

## §§ 7-11. Θηβαϊκὰ.

The narrative forms the epilogue to the story of the Seven against  
Thebes, which is rendered familiar to us by the drama of Aeschylus.  
The conduct here imputed to the Cadmeans is in a sense typical of  
Thebes, since it was imitated by their successors on two distinct  
occasions, (i) after the battle of Delium, 424 B. C. (cp. Thuc. 4. 97),  
(ii) after the victory at Haliartus, 395 B. C. (cp. Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 24).  
Plutarch however informs us that according to the majority of his

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Page 25. authorities the removal of the dead was effected by treaty; cp. Theseus c. 29.

§ 7. 1. 15. Ἀδράστου, king of Argos and father-in-law of Polynices. He was the sole survivor of the defeat.

Πολυνείκους, brother of Eteocles, with whom he had agreed to divide the sovereignty at Thebes. The breach of this compact led to the banishment of Polynices. Cp. Apollodor. 3. 6. 1.

Θήβας, the chief city of Boeotia, and rival of Athens.

1. 16. Καδμείων, cp. Aesch. Theb. 1

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρή, κ. τ. λ.

Thebes was founded by Cadmus during his quest for Europa at the command of the oracle at Delphi; cp. Apollodor. 3. 4. 1. The Cadmeans were expelled in the reign of Leodamas, Eteocles' son, by the Epigoni; cp. Apollodor. 3. 7. 4; Hdt. 5. 57.

1. 17. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, etc.; cp. Eur. Supp. 538

εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ πεπόνθατ' Ἀργείων ὑπο  
τεθνᾶσιν.

1. 19. τοὺς κάτω, the dead; cp. νέστεροι. τὰ αὐτῶν, sc. κτερεα, of which the departed, according to crude early notions, stand in need. Cp. Iliad 23. 161-183; Eur. El. 511. The omission of the last rites seriously interfered with the repose of the dead. Cp. Iliad 23. 68, etc.; Soph. Ant. 467.

1. 20. τοὺς ἀνω θεοὺς, opp. to τοὺς κάτω; cp. § 29 note. The universe was primarily divided between the three sons of Cronos; cp. Iliad 15. 189.

ιερών δέ, etc. Lysias implies that the Argives had taken refuge at the altars; cp. § 11 note. The μῖασμα consisted in the pollution caused by the presence of the dead bodies. Cp. Thuc. 1. 126, 134.

1. 21. πέμψαντες κήρυκα. Normally of course such a procedure signified defeat. Lysias instances it as a proof of Athenian moderation.

§ 8. 1. 22. νομίζοντες, etc. For the sentiment cp. Soph. Ajax 1344

ἄνδρα δ' οὐ δίκαιον εἰ θάναι

βλάπτειν τὸν ἐσθλὸν οὐδ' ἐὰν μισῶν κυρῆς.

Xerxes gave orders that the head of Leonidas should be cut off and impaled—conduct at which Herodotus expresses much surprise; cp. Hdt. 7. 238. Lysias has painted the Cadmeans generally in colours which might seem more strictly appropriate to Creon, but cp. Aesch. Theb. 1008, 1047, where the citizens are represented as consenting.

1. 26. οὐδεμῆς διαφορᾶς, etc.; cp. § 14. Any motive either of interest or malice would of course have been incompatible with δικαιοσύνη in an ideal sense.

1. 2. *χαριζόμενοι*, 'obliging.'  
 1. 3. *ἀξιοῦντες*, almost 'holding as a principle.'  
*τῶν νομιζόμενων*, 'the customary rites;' cp. Dem. Epit. 1 *τὸν νομιζόμενον λόγον*.

§ 9.

1. 4. *ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων*. Lysias is fond of this combination; cp. § 14, *ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων*. *ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν*, on behalf of the Cadmeans. For the position of the particles *μὲν* and *δέ* between the preposition and the noun cp. Pl. Menex. 241 C *ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν κατὰ γῆν ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν*. It is due to the same preposition being repeated. For the demonstrative use of the article cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 444.

1. 5. *ἵνα μηκέτι*, etc.; cp. § 7 *note*. Quite apart from the pollution of the temples the presumption of the Cadmeans in dishonouring the dead was likely to draw upon them the *φθόνος* of the gods.

*πλείω*, cognate accusative. We might supply *ὑβρίσματα*, which we find Eur. Heracl. 18

*ὑβρισμ' ἐς ἡμᾶς ἤξίωσεν ὑβρίσαι*.

1. 6. *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων*, on behalf of the Argives. *ἑτέρων* is pleonastic. Contrast with *τοὺς ἑτέρους* just above, which is the opposite of *ἀμφοτέροι*.

*ἵνα μὴ πρότερον*, etc. A kind of anacoluthon. At first he meant to say *ἡ τυχεῖν πατρίου τιμῆς*. Omit *πρότερον* in translating.

1. 7. *τὴν αὐτῶν*, sc. *χώρων*, cp. § 65.

1. 8. *Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου*, cp. Eur. Supp. 526

*θάψαι δικαίῳ τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον  
 σώζων, κ.τ.λ.*

1. 9. *κοινής ἐλπίδος*, sc. *ταφῆς*.

1. 10. *τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ*, etc.; cp. § 23; Thuc. 1. 78 *μηκυνόμενος γὰρ (ὁ πόλεμος) φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιστάσθαι*. It is not quite certain whether the inference is intended to be favourable to the Athenians or the reverse. *κοινάς*, 'common to.' § 10.

1. 11. *πολλοὺς μὲν*, etc.; cp. § 61. *τὸ δὲ δίκαιον*, etc.; cp. §§ 12, 62.

1. 13. *οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης*, etc.; cp. Lysias 21. 19 *μήθ' ὑπὸ κέρδους ἐπαρθῆναι*. Euripides (Supp. 723) confirms this account.

1. 16. *τὰ ἄλλα*, rhetorical trope; cp. § 35; Hdt. 9. 101 *ὡς σφί καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλάσποντος ἀεθλα προέκειτο*: Xen. Cyr. 2. 3. 2 *τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς νίκης . . . δῆλον ὅτι οἱ τε πολέμοι ἡμέτεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγαθὰ πάντα*.

1. 17. *Ἐλευσῖνι*; cp. Hdt. 9. 27 *καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσίνι* (of these Argives). The statement only applies to the leaders of

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**Page 26.** the Argives. The rest were buried at Eleutheræ; cp. Plut. Theseus c. 27; Eur. Supp. 759. Pausanias was shown the tombs at Eleusis (cp. Paus. i. 29. 2).

§§ 11-17. 'Ηρακλείδεια.

Heracles was the national hero of Greece. It was natural therefore that Athenian orators should seek to connect him with their country. As in the previous narrative, Lysias has been anticipated by Euripides, who has treated the same subject in his drama of the Heracleidae. There however the motives assigned for the action are the relationship of Demophon, in whose reign the events are supposed to have occurred, with the children of Heracles, and the chivalrous friendship of Heracles and Theseus; cp. Heracl. 205, etc. In the following account, as in that of Isocrates, it is noteworthy that all the credit is given to the Athenians and none to the Heracleidae, though we learn from Apollodorus (2. 81) that Eurystheus was actually slain by Hyllus. (Cp. also Thuc. i. 92.)

§ 11. l. 20. ἐπαδὴ Ἡρακλῆς, etc. The assumption took place on Mount Oeta: cp. Apollodor. 2. 7. 10.

l. 21. ἔφηνον, ἐξηλαύνοντο, cp. § 4 note.

l. 23. τοῖς ἔργοις, 'at their own actions,' i.e. in turning away suppliants. Contrast the conduct of the Athenians in the previous narrative.

l. 25. τῶν βωμῶν, i.e. of Zeus; cp. Eur. Heracl. 238. Cp. Xen. Hell. 4. 3, where the conspirators at Corinth are represented as taking sanctuary at the altars; also Thuc. i. 126 of the Cylonians.

§ 12. ἔξαιτουμένου. This is the regular word to express demands for the surrender of slaves, criminals, political refugees, etc. The correlative term is ἐκιδόναι, as *infra*. Compare the story of Pactyes in Hdt. i. 159.

**Page 27.** l. 1. ᾗδοντο, 'reverenced.' Aristotle (Eth. Nic. 4. 9. 3) implies that in strictness αἰδώς can only be predicated of the young. Μεταφορικῶς however the feeling would be quite proper in all cases of relative inferiority.

l. 3. μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου, cp. §§ 10 note.

διαμάχεσθαι, 'to fight it out;' cp. § 17 opp. to οἱ ἀσθενέστεροι. τοῖς δυναμένοις, abs. 'the powerful;' cp. Thuc. 6. 39. 2 ἀ ὑμῶν οἱ τε δυνάμενοι καὶ οἱ νέοι προθυμοῦνται.

§ 13. l. 6. οἱ ἐν ἐκείνῳ, etc., before the Dorian invasion: the Achæans. Cp. Hdt. 9. 27 νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον.

ἐγγὺς τῶν θανάτων, 'face to face with the dangers;' cp. Thuc. 3.

40. 7 *ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ πάσχειν. οὐ μετέγνωσαν ἀλλὰ*, etc. Page 27.

This construction, which involves first a negative, then a positive statement, is called a *σχῆμα κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν*, cp. Hdt. 3. 69 *μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἀλλ' εὐπετέως*: Thuc. 6. 87. 2 *οὐκ ἀκλῆτοι, παρακληθέντες δὲ ἤκειν*.

1. 8. *ἦν πρότερον*, sc. *εἶχον*, cp. § 80. *ἀγαθὸν μὲν*, etc. Tr. 'Though they had received no special benefit from their father,' i. e. more than the rest of the Greeks. In a general way the Athenians had profited by Heracles' civilizing mission.

1. 9. *ἐκείνους τε*, etc. Tr. 'And as for them without knowing what would be their character when they had grown to be men.' For the pregnant construction cp. Soph. El. 332

*καίτοι τοσοῦτόν γ' οἶδα κάμαντῆν ὅτι  
ἀλγῶ 'πὶ τοῖς παρούσιν.*

Scheibe reads *ἔσονται γενόμενοι*.

§ 14.

1. 11. *οὐ προτέρας*, etc.; cp. § 8 *note*.

1. 13. *δόξης ἀγαθῆς*, cp. §§ 5, 53.

*ἤραντο*, 'embraced.'

1. 14. *τοὺς μὲν*, etc. The *epideixis* (oratorical display) is very apparent here, especially in the *homoioteleuta*, *parisa*, and choice of terms. For similar passages cp. §§ 27, 37-38, 50-56, 61, etc.

1. 16. *ἐλευθερίας*. For a criticism of the democratic ideal cp. Pl. Rep. p. 562.

1. 17. *δικαιοσύνης*, cp. § 12; Lysias 34. 10 *ἦδη καὶ ἑτέροις ἀδικουμένοις βοηθήσαντες*, also Isocr. Panegy. 53.

1. 18. *εὐψυχίας*, cp. § 1.

*ὕπερ ἀμφοτέρων*, cp. §§ 9, 53.

1. 19. *εἰ δέοι*, cp. § 21 *note*. The optative occurs because the thought is in the past time. For the repetition of which this section is full cp. Pl. Phaed. p. 235.

*τοσοῦτον δέ*, etc. Tr. 'Both parties were so proud.' Cp. § 58; Xen. Hell. 7. 1. 27 *οὕτω δὲ ἐκάσταν μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων*. *τοσοῦτον* (not *τοσοῦτο*) is the Attic form. Dionysius (5. p. 452) calls Lysias *τῆς Ἀττικῆς γλῶττις ἀριστος κανών*.

§ 15.

1. 20. *οἱ μετ' Εὐρυσθέως*, 'the partisans of Eurystheus'; cp. Lysias, 25. 9 *οἱ μετ' ἐκείνιον δημαγωγοί*.

*οὐδέν*, etc. Tr. 'Sought to gain nothing from complaisance.'

1. 21. *εὐρέσθαι*, 'acquire'; cp. Lysias 13. 55 *εὐρίσκονται αὐτῷ κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ ἀδειαν*.

1. 22. *ἱκετεύοντα*. The proper station for a suppliant was at the hearth 'in the ashes'; cp. Odys. 7. 153

*ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετ' ἐν ἑσχάρῃ ἐν κονίῃσιν*.

Isocrates (Panegy. 59) represents Eurystheus as having become

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**Page 27.** a suppliant after his defeat. Lysias of course does not use the word in its literal acceptation. Notice the *parechesis* (assonance); cp. § 14 *δικαιοσύνης δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις*.

l. 23. *παραταξάμενοι*, abs., 'having drawn up in line;' cp. Xen. Cyr. 5. 3. 5 *παραταξάμενοις ὥσπερ ὅτε ἡ μάχη ἦν*.

ἰδίᾳ, 'private,' i. e. 'single,' opp. to *ἐξ ἀπάσης*.

*δυνάμει*, 'forces;' cp. § 82. Isocr. Panegy. 58 *ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν παίδων τῶν Ἡρακλείους πρὸς τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν*.

l. 24. *ἐνίκων μαχόμενοι*, cp. § 52. Isocr. Panegy. 58 *ἐνίκησαν μαχόμενοι*. The addition of the participle indicates that the action is incomplete and prepares the way for a further statement.

l. 25. *τὰ σώματα, τὰς ψυχὰς*, cp. § 53, same antithesis.

l. 26. *ἀπαλλάξαντες*, etc., 'releasing them from fear;' cp. Epist. ad Hebr. 2. 15 (*ἵνα*) *ἀπαλλάξῃ τούτους ὅσοι φόβῳ θανάτου διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ζῆν ἐνοχοὶ ἦσαν δουλείας*.

l. 28. *ἑσπεφάνωσαν*, cp. Thuc. 2. 46 *ᾠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδε τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγῶνων προτιθεῖσα*. The metaphor for which cp. § 1 ὁ ἀγών, § 10 τὰ ἄλλα, is probably suggested by the scenes which preceded, cp. § 81.

§ 16.

*τοσοῦτον*, cp. § 15 *note*. *εὐτυχέστεροι*, cp. Soph. Ajax 550

*ὦ παῖ γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος*.

The Erinyes, as in the case of Orestes, were only too apt to become hereditary.

l. 30. *καίπερ ὦν*, etc.; cp. § 13 *note*. Cp. also Isocr. Panegy. 56 ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν *ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους εὐεργέτησεν*. The reference is chiefly to the Twelve Labours of Heracles.

l. 31. *ἐπίπονον*, cp. Soph. Trach. 1046

*ὦ πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θερμὰ κοῦ λόγῳ κακὰ  
καὶ χερσὶ καὶ νώτοισι μοχθήσας ἐγώ*.

Heracles is the typical athlete. Lysias (cp. 33. 1) mentions him as the founder of the Olympic festival. Heracles' career was not, as might appear, wholly a matter of choice, since it was prescribed to him as a cure for the madness which was sent him through the jealousy of his step-dame Hera; cp. Apollodor. 2. 4. 12.

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l. 3. *τιμωρήσασθαι*. This verb differs from *κολάζειν* in signifying *retributive* punishment, whereas *κόλασις* means *corrective* chastisement; cp. Aristot. Rhet. 1. 10. 17. For the point of view cp. § 8; 9. 20 *ἡγούμενος τετάχθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους εὖ*.

§§ 17-20. πολιτικά.

This paragraph, as intervening between narrations of military exploits, is in that sense parenthetical. It is however strictly in

place, because the events to which it refers belong to the same **Page 28.** period as those of the preceding sections. Some account of the internal condition of Athens at that time would be in any case a natural complement, but there is no doubt that in the intention of the writer this speech was inserted as an explanation of the previous record. (Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1396; also § 3 *note* on *παιδείσεως*.) In reading it we are forcibly reminded of Herodotus' testimony (5. 78) to the good effect of *ισηγورίη* on the Athenians, though the incidents which prompted it are of course distinct.

1. 6. *πολλὰ μὲν οὖν*, etc. This sentence appears to be a crasis of (1) *πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε . . . εἰς τὸ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου διαμάχεσθαι* and (2) *κατὰ πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπῆρχε κ.τ.λ. ὑπῆρχε*, 'appertained.' *μὲν οὖν*, cp. § 3 *note*.

1. 7. *μὴ γνώμη*, etc., 'with one accord;' cp. § 24 *μὴ γνώμη γνόντες*.

*περί* refers to the *ἄθλον* of a contest; cp. § 61 *note*.

1. 8. *ἡ τε ἀρχή*, etc., *noblesse oblige*, cp. Pl. Menex. p. 237 A *ἀγαθοὶ δ' ἐγένοντο διὰ τὸ φῦναι ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*.

*τοῦ βίου*, corporate life; cp. *μήτηρ infra*.

*ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί*. He refers to the early migrations of the Greeks; cp. Thuc. 1. 2. 12; Hdt. 1. 56.

1. 10. *αὐτόχθονες*, 'sprung from the soil.' This is the great boast of the Athenians on which Aristophanes pours such unlimited ridicule in the Aves. The other panegyrists also wax eloquent on this article of the national faith. Plato (Menex. 237 E) and Demosthenes (Epit. p. 1390) in particular defend the belief by citing in proof a kindred notion that Attica was the country which first produced corn—*τροφή*, for her new-born offspring.

1. 11. *πρώτοι καὶ μόνοι*, cp. Dem. De Pace p. 58 *πρώτους καὶ μόνοι παρελθὼν ἀντίπον*. The reference is not, as might at first be supposed, to the plot of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, but to a much earlier event, the *συνόικισις* effected by Theseus; cp. Plut. Theseus c. 24. This tradition accounts for the appearance of Theseus in the Suppliants of Euripides (11. 403, etc.) as the exponent of democratic principles.

1. 13. *δυναστείας*, 'rule of families;' cp. Isocr. Panegy. 105 *ταῖς δὲ δυναστεαῖς πολεμοῦντες*.

*δημοκρατίαν*. In a passage which might be a criticism on this Plato (Menex. 238 D) contends that though the Athenian constitution might be a democracy by name it was essentially an aristocracy in which however only one qualification was requisite, *ὁ δόξας σοφὸς ἢ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι κρατεῖ καὶ ἀρχεῖ*.

1. 14. *ἡγουμενοί*, etc.; cp. Lysias 25. 23 *νομίζοντες καὶ τῆς*



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Page 28. πόλεως ταύτην (i. e. τὴν ὁμόνοιαν) ἱκανωτάτην εἶναι σωτηρίαν καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεγίστην τιμωρίαν. Cp. also Isocr. Panegy. 104. Demosthenes (Epit. p. 1396. § 25) supplies an interesting gloss. He says that oligarchies fail to implant a sense of honour (*αἰσχύνη*) in the citizens, and thus in the stress of war each man hastens to save himself and trusts to bribes that he may propitiate the lords of the city.

§ 19.

1. 15. εἶναι, 'was equivalent to,' 'implied.'

κοινὰς, ἐλευθέραις, predicative. ἐλπίδος, cp. §§ 5, 10, either booty or an honourable burial. Cp. also § 15 *note*.

1. 17. νόμῳ. The Athenians claimed to have been the inventors of law and government; cp. Isocr. Panegy. 39; Lucr. 6. 1.

1. 18. θηρίων. Plato (Prot. p. 321) gives an interesting account of the republic of beasts and the ways by which various breeds are secured against extinction.

ἔργον εἶναι, 'to be the business;' cp. Lysias 14. 4 δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ πολίτου χρηστοῦ καὶ δικαστοῦ δικαίου ἔργον εἶναι ταύτη τοὺς νόμους διαλαμβάνειν, etc.

1. 20. ὀρίσαι τὸ δίκαιον, 'to define justice;' cp. Eur. Hec. 800

νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγοῦμεθα

καὶ ζῶμεν ἄδικοι καὶ δίκαι' ὀρισμένοι.

Cp. also Lysias 1. 35. Ideally such a code as that of Draco or Solon was supposed to suffice for the settlement of all disputes, but in practice the decision often rested with the δικασταί. Cp. Plut. Solon c. 18.

λόγῳ δέ, cp. § 1 *note*.

1. 21. τούτοις, i. e. νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ, cp. § 14 *note*.

βασιλευομένους, cf. Pindar (Pl. Gorgias p. 484 B)

νόμος δ' πάντων βασιλεὺς

θανάτων τε καὶ ἀθανάτων.

Demosthenes (c. Aristogeit. p. 774) indulges in a 'praise' of law which forms a suitable pendant to Isocrates' 'praise of language' (cp. § 1 *note*). For the acc. cp. § 3 *note*.

1. 22. διδασκομένους. Cp. § 46; Thuc. 2. 42 διδ' δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου, etc.

## §§ 20-40. Μηδικά.

This long recital has by editors been separated on chronological principles into three main divisions, comprising respectively (i) the battle of Marathon, 490 B. C.; (ii) the simultaneous engagements at Thermopylae and Artemisium, 480 B. C., followed by the conflict at Salamis the same year; (iii) the overthrow of the Persians at Plataea, 479 B. C. Much additional interest is imparted to this

narrative by the fact that Lysias was the fellow-citizen of Herodotus at Page 28. Thurii. The general agreement of Lysias' version with Herodotus' account of the invasion certainly bespeaks a knowledge on his part of the older work; a supposition which is rendered all the stronger by many verbal coincidences.

l. 23. τοιγάρτοι, 'so then.' This conjunction occurs more than § 20. once, cp. §§ 26, 63, etc. It would appear however that the word is far less frequent in the orators than in Plato's dialogues (cp. Frohberger, Lysias 31. 25). Scheibe καὶ γάρ τοι.

φύντες καλῶς, i. e. as being αὐτόχθονες: cp. Introduction, p. 10. γνόντες ὅμοια, with aims worthy of their birth: cp. § 67 and the numerous passages introduced by ἡγούμενοι, νομίζοντες, etc.

l. 21. πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ . . . δειμνήστα δέ. Notice the progression. Page 20. Pericles is more direct; cp. Thuc. 2. 363 καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. While it is plainly hinted in this passage that the public funerals in the Ceramicus began about the time of the Persian Wars, it is singular that Lysias should have forgotten that the heroes of Marathon were buried elsewhere (cp. Thuc. 2. 346).

l. 3. τρόπαιον. For a description of a τρόπαιον, which was the symbol of victory (τροπή), cp. Verg. Aen. 11. 5. τρόπαια, as dedicated to Zeus Tropaïos, were inviolable. If the enemy refused to admit the claim, it was for them to erect a counter trophy, subject always to interference from the actual victors (cp. Thuc. 1. 105).

l. 4. μόντοι, cp. Hdt. 9. 27 οἵτινες μόντοι Ἕλληνας δὴ μονομαχῆσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ, etc.

l. 6. διεκινδύνευσαν, 'went through with the danger;' cp. § 12 διαμάχεσθαι.

ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς. This sounding title appears to have § 21. been coined for the occasion, but it is quite in keeping with Persian pretensions; cp. Herod. 1. 4: 9. 116.

οὐκ ἀγαπῶν, 'not content with.' For the dative cp. § 44 ἀγαπῶντων τῇ σωτηρίᾳ. Elsewhere we have the accusative; cp. Pl. Menex. 240 C ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι σωτηρίαν.

l. 7. τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, etc., 'his existing advantages;' cp. § 67.

l. 8. πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, i. e. 500,000 men. So Plato (Menex. 240). Herodotus does not state the number of the Persians under Datis and Artaphernes. Justin (2. 5. 9) gives 600,000; Valerius Maximus (5. 3), Pausanias (4. 25), Plutarch (Parallel. Graec.), 300,000; and Cornelius Nepos 110,000. (Grote.)

l. 9. στρατιάς, a kind of attributive genitive. Scheibe however reads στρατιάν, which would be in apposition.

**Page 29.** ἡγησόμενοι, etc. This and the following sentence exhibit three distinct modes of expressing a future condition: (i) The first *εἰ* represents *ἐάν* with the present conjunctive. (ii) The second *εἰ* introduces the more remote hypothetical construction with *ἄν* in the apodosis. (iii) A third form is given in § 22, where the protasis has a future indicative.

l. 10. ἐκούσαν, ἀκούσαν, cp. Lysias 13. 28 νῦν δὲ ἄκων μὲν προσποιεῖ, ἐκὼν δὲ πολλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτεινας.

l. 11. ἀπέβησαν, 'landed.'

l. 13. στασιασούσης, 'being at variance.' In view of the dependent construction we might perhaps have expected ἀμφισβητούσης.

l. 14. ᾧ τι χρῆ, etc. Indirect question. χρῆ is put vividly for χρεῖη.

l. 15. τὸν κίνδυνον ποιήσαιντο, cp. § 26, same expression. The historical allusions in this section are somewhat vague. Lysias seems to confuse the delay of the Spartans which cost them their share in the battle of Marathon with the dissension of Themistocles and Eurybiades at Salamis ten years later; cp. Hdt. 6. 105, 8. 58, etc. In the same way the word ἐκούσαν seems to point to the mission of Alexander (Hdt. 8. 140), unless it is a mere rhetorical flourish.

§ 22. ἔτι δέ, 'furthermore;' cp. Lysias 13. 96 ἔτι δὲ καὶ προσήκει ὑμῖν, etc.

ἐκ τῶν προτέρων, etc. He may allude to the assistance rendered by the Athenians to the Ionians on their revolt (cp. Hdt. 5. 77), or, as is more likely, the reference is quite general. Cp. Demosthenes' tone in speaking of the relations between Athens and Philip, especially De Coron. p. 248.

l. 16. τοιαύτη δόξα, 'such an impression:' cp. Isocr. Panegy. 175 ἐξ ὧν τοιαύτη δόξα γέγονεν ὥς ὁ μὲν, etc.

παρεστήκειν, 'had come into their minds.' παρεστάναι c. ὡς is more usually found without δόξα; cp. Thuc. 4. 61 παρεστάναι δὲ μηδενὶ ὥς οἱ μὲν Δωριῆς, etc.

l. 19. βοηθήσονται. In Greek the future participle with verbs of motion is equivalent to the Latin supine in -um.

ἐνθάδε, to Athens.

l. 20. οὐδένας, etc. Notice the anacoluthon; cp. Lysias 12. 6 Πείσαν γὰρ καὶ Θέογνις ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων ὡς εἴεν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι, etc.

l. 22. καταθέσθαι, 'to lay up.'

§ 23. τοίνυν, 'therefore.' This expression, like τοιγάρτοι (§ 20), occurs in transitions.

1. 23. οὐ λογισμῷ, cp. § 10; Thuc. 2. 425 ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ Page 29.  
κατορθώσιν ἐπιτρέψαντες.

1. 25. θάνατον ἀθάνατον. For the proximity of words expressive of opposite ideas cp. § 23 οἱ βάρβαροι αὐτῶν. For the *parenthesis* cp. § 15 *note*.

περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, 'regarding good men.'

καταλείπειν λόγον, 'to leave behind a record;' cp. § 24 μνήμην καταλείπειν.

1. 26. οὐκ ἐφοβήθησαν, etc.; cp. § 63; Pl. Menex. D 240 καὶ πᾶν πλῆθος καὶ πᾶς πλοῦτος ἀρετῇ ὑπέκει.

1. 27. αἰσχυρόμενοι, etc.; cp. § 26 *note*. Isocrates (Panegy. 85) assigns a different motive, not shame at the presence of the barbarians, but a generous rivalry with the Lacedaemonians.

1. 29. πυθέσθαι, abs. 'to make enquiries.'

1. 30. δεῖν, sc. αὐτοῦς. For a similar ellipse cp. § 57 δέιον (sc. αὐτοῦς) ἡγεμόνας γίγνεσθαι.

χάριν εἰδέναι, 'to feel grateful;' cp. Xen. Cyr. 1. 6. 11 καὶ χάριν τοῦτων εἰκὸς εἰδέναι τῷ διδόντι.

1. 31. τὰτα γνόντες, cp. § 20 *note*. Tr. 'having formed these resolves.' § 24.

1. 1. μὲν γνώμη, cp. § 17 *notes*.

ἀπήντων, 'went to meet.' Observe the *descriptive* use of the imperfect; cp. Jelf's Gr. Gr. § 401, *obs.* 3. The usual construction of ἀπαντᾶν is with the dative of the person and εἰς c. accusative of the place; cp. § 30 εἰς Θερμοπύλας ἀπήντησαν, § 32 τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπαντήσονται.

ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλούς, 'few against many;' cp. Isocr. Panegy. 86 ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας.

1. 3. προσήκειν, 'belonged to them,' as an attribute; cp. § 19 ἀνθρώποις δὲ προσήκειν νόμῳ μὲν, etc. Cp. also § 77.

ἀγαθοὺς δ', etc.; cp. Hdt. 7. 210 πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες.

1. 4. τὰς μὲν ψυχὰς, etc. Tr. 'hold their lives as forfeit.' Cp. Isocr. Panegy. 86 ὥσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντες κινδυνεύσιν, Thuc. 1. 70. 6 ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρώνται, etc.

διὰ τὸν θάνατον. Instance of brachylogy. The full expression would be διὰ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου ἀνάγκην. Cp. Lysias 12. 40 τὸν Πειραιᾶ (instead of τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ Πειραιῶς) περιελεῖν. For the sentiment cp. Isocr. Panegy. 84 καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν σώματα ταῖς τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκαις ἀπέδοσαν, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην ἐποίησαν.

1. 6. ἤξιουν, cp. § 9 *note*. οὐς μή, etc. The optative takes the

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**Page 30.** place of the present conjunctive with *ἄν*, the reference being quite general.

1. 7. ἡττηθέντες, implied condition; cp. § 36 ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εὐνοχρῶντων τοὺς ὑπεκτεθέντας ἤλπιζον πείσεσθαι.

τῶν ἄλλων, governed by the preposition (*πρὸ*) in *προαπολείσθαι*. Cp. Antipho 125. 15 *προαποθνήσκειν τῆς γεραίου τελευτῆς*.

1. 8. καί, as well as themselves.

§ 25. 1. 9. ἄνδρες δ', etc.; cp. Pl. Menex. 242 C *ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι*. See note on ἀρετῇ § 1.

τῶν μὲν σωμάτων, etc.: a *parallelismus antitheticus*; cp. Lysias 24. 4 σώματι δύνασθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων. Cp. for the converse construction § 13 note. For the idea cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1394 οὐδὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐφείσαντο, ib. 1397 τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ροῦντο ἢ καταλυσόμενης ταύτης παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ζῆν φιλοψυχῆσαντες.

1. 12. αἰσχυρόμενοι, 'reverencing'; cp. § 12 ἡδούντο. Demaratus says (Hdt. 7. 104) of the Lacedaemonians *ἐπεσι γάρ σφι δεσπότης νόμος, τὸν ὑποδειμαίνουσι πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ σοί*, etc.

1. 13. τρόπαια, cp. § 20 note.

1. 14. τῶν βαρβάρων, with τρόπαια, 'over the barbarians'; cp. Eur. Androm. 764

*τρόπιον αὐτοῦ στήσομαι πρεσβύς περ ἄν*.

ὑπὲρ χρημάτων, cp. § 14, for a similar motive imputed to the enemies of Athens. Lysias is naturally quite oblivious of the burning of Sardis.

§ 26. 1. 15. παρὰ τοὺς ὄρους, 'along the borders of their country'; cp. Isocr. Panegy. 87 *βοηθήσαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς χώρας*.

'The mountains look on Marathon,

And Marathon looks on the sea.'

He means that the invasion was only nominal; cp. § 23. The clause is added as a limitation on *ἐμβαλόντες*. Cp. Lysias 3. 25 *ὥστε οὐκ ἐφαρκεῖ περὶ τούτου μόνον αὐτῷ ψεύσασθαι, περὶ τοῦ δεδοκέναι τὸ ἀργύριον*.

1. 16. οὕτω δέ, etc., 'in so short a space'; cp. Lysias 24. 5 *ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ γὰρ διὰ βραχείαν ἐρῶ*. Isocr. (Panegy. 87) says that the landing of the Persians and the battle of Marathon took place on the same day, but according to the account which Herodotus gives several days must have elapsed between these events: cp. Hdt. 6. 110.

1. 18. τοιγάρτοι, cp. § 20 note. Apparently we are to infer that the Greeks in general heard nothing of the expedition until its failure was reported.

1. 23. ζηλοῦσθαι, 'to be envied' in a good sense; cp. § 81 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζω τοῦ θανάτου καὶ ζηλῶ*. Lysias is particularly fond of the term; cp. §§ 48, 66, 69.

1. 1. καταφρονήσας, cp. H<sup>2</sup>t. 7. 11, where Xerxes refers in a highly contemptuous vein to the race whom Pelops 'πατέρων τῶν ἐμῶν δοῦλος' had subdued and called by his name. For the assemblage of participles cp. § 14 note. Page 31. § 27.

ἐψευσμένος δέ, etc.; cp. Hdt. 1. 141 ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος. Verbs of failing and missing take a genitive.

1. 3. ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, cp. Lysias 6. 48 ἀπαθὴς τούτων τῶν κακῶν γενόμενος. Vide Hdt. Bk. V. init.: Aeschyl. Pers. 2. 854

πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιάς ἀπεφαίνομεθ', etc.

1. 5. χιλίαις μὲν, etc.; cp. Hdt. 7. 89, where their number is said to have been 1207.

1. 6. οὕτως ἀπειρον, predicative.

τῆς δὲ πεζῆς, etc. Herodotus (7. 184) computes the total number of combatants at 2,641,610. If the camp followers are included the tale is brought up to 5,283,220. This reckoning expressly excludes women and eunuchs.

1. 8. πολὺ ἂν ἔργον, 'it would be a considerable task;' cp. Lysias 10. 7 πολὺ ἂν ἔργον ἦν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ἅπαντα τὰ δυνάματα γράφειν.

καταλέξαι, 'to enumerate.' It is one of the many traits which Herodotus shares with the epic writers that he joyfully accepts the duty which the younger writer here deprecates for himself. A look at Herodotus' seventh book, however, fully excuses the omission. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, 'even the tribes,' i.e. without giving details.

1. 9. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σημεῖον, cp. Dem. c. Mid. 562 σημεῖον δέ ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέδοτο, etc.

ἔξόν, accusative absolute; cp. Lysias 1. 46 ἔξόν μοι, εἰπερ ἀδίκων ἐπεθύμουν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι μηδὲνα μοι τούτων συνειδέναι. § 28.

1. 10. διαβιβᾶσαι, 'to transport.'

κατὰ τὸ στενέστατον, 'at the narrowest point.'

1. 13. ὑπεριδόν, 'in disregard of;' cp. § 77 οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς ὑπερορᾷ (ὁ θάνατος). § 29.

τὰ φύσει πεφυκόντα, 'the natural constitution of things;' cp. for the pleonasm Pl. Symp. 195 B φεύγων φύγῃ. The feeling here announced is traceable to the Aryan worship of nature, which is more distinctly brought out by Tacitus, Annals 1. 79 'Optime rebus mortalium consuluisse naturam quae sua ora fluminibus suos cursus utque originem ita fines dederit. Spectandas etiam religiones sociorum qui sacra et lucos et aras patriis amnibus dicaverint.' For the *parechesis* cp. § 15 note.

1. 14. τὰ θεῖα πράγματα, cp. Arist. Eth. Nic. 7. 13. 6 πάντα γὰρ φύσει ἔχει τι θεῖον. Cp. ἱερὸν ἡμαρ, ἀμβροσίη νύξ, etc.

τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους διανοίας, cp. Isocr. Panegy. 89 βουλευθεὶς δὲ τοιοῦτον μνημεῖον καταλιπεῖν ὃ μὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἔστιν. In

Page 31. devising these immense enterprises Xerxes was usurping the functions of the gods, since we are told by Herodotus (2. 52) that κόσμῳ θεῖντες τὰ πάντα πράγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον.

1. 15. ὁδὸν μὲν, etc.; Isocr. Panegy. 89 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλεῦσαι μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πεδεύσαι δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάττης. For the details of these operations cp. Hdt. 7. 22, 33. The truth of these assertions has often been questioned, notably by Juvenal (Sat. 10. 173).

1. 18. τῶν μὲν, etc. Notice the assonance; cp. Lysias 6. 23 τὰ μὲν ἔσχατα καὶ τὰ αἰσχίστα. In the first category must be placed the Phocians; cp. Hdt. 9. 17. Others who are harder to discriminate were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Aenianians, Perrhaebi, Locrians, Magnes, Malians, Boeotians (except the Plataeans and Thespians); cp. Hdt. 7. 132.

1. 20. ἀμφοτέρω, etc.; cp. Hdt. 7. 173 δοκέειν δέ μοι ἄρρωδῇ ἦν τὸ πείθον.

§ 30.

1. 21. κέρδος appears to be rhetorical addition; cp. Hdt. 7. 108 τοὺς δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένους ἐμποδῶν συστρατεύεσθαι ἠνάγκαζε. The conduct of the Argives was however suspicious; cp. Hdt. 7. 147-50.

1. 22. οὕτω διακειμένης, 'when Greece was in this condition'; cp. § 69 οὕτω διακειμένοις.

1. 23. Ἀρτεμίσιον, a promontory on the N. E. of Euboea.

1. 24. Θερμοπύλαι, a pass between Malis and Locris. For a description of the localities cp. Hdt. 7. 175, 6. Isocrates (Panegy. 90) states as the motive of each party that the Lacedaemonians did not want to thank the Athenians for another Marathon, while the Athenians wished to show that they had won their previous victory by courage, not by chance.

τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔνιοι. The Lacedaemonians were accompanied by 500 Tegeates, 500 Mantineans, 120 Orchomenians, besides 1000 from the rest of Arcadia, 400 Corinthians, 200 Phliasians, 80 Mycenaeans, 700 Thespians, and 400 Thebans. The Spartan hoplites numbered 300. Cp. Hdt. 7. 202. Of all these however the Thespians alone shared with the Spartans the glory of Thermopylae. The other allies, except the Thebans, were sent back on the discovery of the path over the mountains. The Thebans who had been detained as hostages gave themselves up to Xerxes. Cp. Hdt. 7. 222.

1. 25. ἡγούμενοι, etc. The first intention of the allies had been to dispute the pass at Tempe in Thessaly, but they chose Thermopylae as narrower; cp. Hdt. 7. 175.

§ 31.

1. 28. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, etc. There is a *lacuna* in the text here which Cobet fills up by inserting ἐδυστύχησαν, apparently from the next section. Others interpolate ἀπώλοντο or διεφθάρησαν. It is possible however that the *aposeiopsis* may be intentional.

1. 30. *ψευσθέντες*, cp. § 27 *note*. With τοῦ πλήθους supply *ἐκείνων* Page 31.  
as antecedent to οὓς.

οὓς, etc., 'who, they supposed, would guard.' He refers to the treachery of the Thebans; cp. § 30 *note*. Observe the *asyndeta* here. Dionysius (Lys. 9) refers to Lysias' *διαλελυμένη καὶ διηρημένη λέξις*.

1. 31. οὐχ ἡττηθέντες, etc.: cp. § 4 *note*; Lysias 28. 9 ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡττήσεσθε. For the sentiment cp. Dem. Epit. 1394 εἰ δὲ θνητὸς ἂν τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἔσχε, τῇ τύχῃ πέπονθε τὸ συμβαῖνον, οὐχὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡττηται τῶν ἐναντίων, Isocr. Panegyrt. 92 ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπείπον.

1. 2. τῶν μὲν, the Spartans.

τῶν δέ, the Persians.

1. 3. οἱ μὲν, the Persians.

1. 5. *ξυμφοράν*, cp. § 6 *note*.

*ἀποροῦντες*, etc., 'dismayed at the circumstances in which they were placed.' The Athenians were in a similar difficulty ten years before on account of Hippias' conspiracy; cp. Grote c. 36.

1. 6. εἰ μὲν, etc. For the future indicative in the protasis cp. § 21.

1. 7. ἐπιπλεύσαντες λήψονται, i. e. οἱ Πέρσαι.

1. 8. ἐρήμην, predicative.

1. 9. ἐμβήσονται, ἀλώσονται, i. e. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

1. 11. δυοῖν δέ, etc. There is some confusion. Either we should have instead of *πότερον χρή* simply *ἤ*, or else instead of *δυοῖν δέ προκειμένοι* only *προκειμένου*. § 33.

1. 14. *κρείττον*. For a neuter adjective as predicate to a feminine subject cp. Lysias 19. 5 πάντων δεινότητόν ἐστι διαβολή. He anticipated perhaps using an infinitive; cp. § 41.

μετ' ἀρετῆς, cp. § 12 μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου,

1. 17. ἐν μέρει, 'by turns.' Cp. Isocr. Panegyrt. 96 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὐχ οἱοί τε ἦσαν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἅμα παρατάσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις... ἐξέπλευσαν, ἵνα ἐν μέρει πρὸς ἑκατέραν κινδυνεύσωσιν.

1. 18. ὑπεκθήμενοι δέ, etc., 'having quietly removed.' Cp. Isocr. Panegyrt. 96 παραλαβόντες ἅπαντα τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον ἐξέπλευσαν. Cp. Hdt. 8. 40, where the Athenians request the retreating fleet to pause at Salamis in order that they may transfer their wives and children from Attica to a place of security. § 34.

1. 19. Σαλαμίς, the island to the west of Attica. Others were sent to Troezen and Aegina; cp. Hdt. 8. 41.

1. 20. *ἐνῆθρουζον*, 'rallied;' cp. Hdt. 8. 56-64. Themistocles only restrained the fugitives by threatening to withdraw the Athenian contingent.



- Page 32.** 1. 22. *ὁ τίς ἰδών*. The readings vary. Scheibe, following the Palatine MS., reads *τίς οὐκ ἂν ἰδών*: which would involve a *hyperbaton*; cp. § 40 *τίς οὐκ ἂν θεῶν ἡλέησεν*.
1. 23. *ὥς* for *ὅτι οὕτως*. Cp. § 60. But the reading is uncertain. All the MSS. except one have *ὅλος μέγας*. Together these words would form a pleonasm; but cp. § 77 *λίαν οὕτω βραχέως*.
1. 24. *κίνδυνος ἡγωνίσθη*. This construction is permissible because *κίνδυνος* and *ἀγών* are cognate terms; cp. § 3 *note*.
- § 35. 1. 25. *ποίαν δὲ γνώμην*, etc., 'what were the feelings,' etc. Cp. Isocr. Panegy. 83 *ποίαν δ' ἂν ἔργων ἢ πόνων ἢ κινδύνων ἀπίστησαν*, etc. There is much in the situation here pourtrayed to remind us of Thucydides' description (7. 71) of the Athenians in the Great Harbour at Syracuse and their final attempt to liberate themselves.
1. 26. *οὕτως*, etc. After *ἀπίστων* Emperius conjectures *ὑπέρ*. Possibly we should read *ἐκ τοῦ*.
1. 28. *ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλόττων*, etc. The reading of the Palatine codex is *ὑπὲρ τῆς φιλόττης τῶν ἀθλων τῶν ἐν σαλαμυνίοις*. Scheibe repeats *ὑπὲρ before τῶν ἀθλων*. *οἷς* is Markland's conjecture.
- § 36. 1. 29. *περιεστήκει*, etc.; cp. Hdt. 8. 76. The exact nature of the evolutions performed during the night by the Persian fleet is obscure, but the result was that both mouths of the strait were closed and the coast of Attica lined by the Persians; cp. Aeschyl. Persae 361; Grote c. 41.
- Page 33.** 1. 1. *ἃ* is Taylor's interpolation.  
*εὐτυχισάντων*, 'if they succeeded'; cp. § 24 *note*.
1. 2. *ἡλπίζον*, 'apprehended'; cp. Lysias 31. § 27 *ἡλπισεν ἀμαρτήσεσθαι τοσαύτην ἀμαρτίαν*.
- § 37. *ἦ που*, 'assuredly'; cp. Lysias 13. 57 *ἦ που Ἀγόρατός γε δικαίως ἀποθανεῖται*. As to the respective numbers Herodotus (8. 66) merely says that they were no fewer than at Artemisium and Thermopylae. Aeschylus is more definite. He assigns to the Greeks 310, to the Persians 1207 ships. Thucydides (1. 74) says the Greeks had 400 ships. With this passage compare Isocr. Panegy. 96 *ὅτινες ἔτλησαν ἐπιδεῖν ὥστε μὴ τοῖς λοιποῖς αἰτιοῖ γενέσθαι τῆς δουλείας ἐρήμην μὲν τὴν πόλιν γενομένην τὴν δὲ χώραν πορθουμένην ἱερά δὲ συλῶμενα καὶ νέως ἐμπίπραμένους*.
1. 3. *ἐδεξώσαντο*. See the parting scenes depicted on Attic tombs, e.g. in Curtius' Atlas von Athen.
1. 8. *καομένων*. Old Attic. This is Cobet's correction (?) of *καομένων*, the reading of the Palatine codex.
1. 9. *ἐγγὺς τῶν δαινῶν*, cp. § 13 *note*.
- § 38. 1. 10. *παιάνος*, 'war-song'; cp. Aeschyl. Persae 394

οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ

παίων' ἐφύμνον σέμνδν "Ἕλληνες τότε.

παρακλευσμοῦ, 'encouragement.'

1. 12. τῆς θαλάττης, etc. Herodotus (8. 89) tells us that the Persians, unlike the Greeks, were most of them unable to swim.

1. 15. δοκοῦντες, etc.; cp. Thuc. 7. 64 νικῶντες, κρατούμενοι. For the assemblage of participles cp. §§ 13, 14.

1. 16. ἡ που, cp. § 37.

διὰ τὸν παρόντα φόβον, etc. Notice this frank admission. Cp. Hdt. 8. 70 τοὺς δὲ "Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρραδίη, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου, etc.

1. 17. πολλὰ μὲν, etc.: cp. Hdt. 8. 84. It was rumoured that the vision of a woman appeared and upbraided the Grecian host demanding ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἐτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε; cp. also Plut. Them. c. 15.

ὃν οὐκ εἶδον, for τούτων δ, being an instance of attraction; cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 822. We might have expected μή, since the clause is qualitative.

1. 18. ποῖαι δ' οὐχ, etc.; cp. § 35. Herodotus (8. 64) mentions that before the battle the Greeks offered prayers to the gods and invoked the Aeacidae.

1. 19. ἀναμνήσεις, 'reminders.'

1. 21. εἰ δυστυχῆσαι, for ἔαν with the conjunctive, the λογισμός having taken place in past time. Strictly the words should have been inserted after τῶν.

1. 22. τίς οὐκ ἂν, etc. Notice the *hyperbaton*. Cp. § 23 note.

1. 24. τῆς τόλμης, cp. § 81 μακαρίζω τοῦ θανάτου. For the construction of verbs expressing wonder, which is somewhat peculiar, cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 495.

1. 25. πολὺ πλείστον, accusative of measure.

1. 26. διήνεγκον, cp. § 4 note.

1. 28. εἰς τὰς ναῦς, etc.; cp. Pl. Menex. p. 243 C αὐτοὶ ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς. This was utterly opposed to the old aristocratic feeling, since the sea service was discharged by metics and slaves. It is always mentioned as a sign of an emergency; cp. Thuc. 3. 16 ἐσβάντες αὐτοὶ τε πλὴν ἱππέων καὶ πεντακοσιομεδίων, i. e. the Zeugitae and Thetes, the two lowest of the Solonian classes, went aboard. The Spartan kings never went aboard ship as commanders.

τὰς δ' αὐτῶν ψυχάς, etc., 'pitting their brave hearts against the horde of Asia;' cp. § 23 note.

1. 29. ὀλίγας οὐσας, 'though a few.'

1. 31. πολιτευομένων. This is Scheibe's insertion, for which he

§ 39.

§ 40.

§ 41.

LYSIAS' EPITAPHIOS.

Page 33. compares Polybius 4. 76. 2. As a matter of usage *πολιτεία* is identical in meaning with a regulated *δημοκρατία*. Cp. Aristot. Pol. 3. 7. 3; Dem. Olynth. 1. p. 10. For the feeling cp. § 33.

Page 34. l. 4. *ἐνεβάλοντο*, 'contributed.' *στρατηγόν*, 'admiral.' In Hakluyt's Voyages 'general' is commonly used in this sense.

§ 42. *Θεμιστοκλέα*, cp. Hdt. 8. 123. After the battle of Salamis the generals, each of whom thought himself deserving of the *ἀριστεία*, unanimously assigned the second place to Themistocles. He also received an olive-wreath, *σοφίης καὶ δεξιότητος*, from the Spartans. For a warmly appreciative judgment of Themistocles cp. Thuc. 1. 138.

l. 5. *ναῦς δὲ πλείους*, cp. Isocr. Panegyr. 98 and § 37 *note*. Taking the estimate of the Greek fleet at about 300 ships the Athenians contributed two-thirds; cp. Hdt. 8. 61.

l. 6. *ἄνδρας δέ*, cp. Thuc. 1. 142. 7. The Athenians owed their experience to the war with Aegina, 491-480 B. C. Hdt. 6. 89.

l. 7. *καίτοι*, Latin *atque*, 'though.' *καίτοι* frequently introduces a question involving a self-evident proposition; cp. Lysias 32. 27 *καίτοι τί αὐτὸν οἴεσθε πεποιθέναι περὶ ὃν αὐτῷ οὐδεὶς σίνουδεν*, etc. Cp. § 43.

§ 43. l. 8. *ἀναμφισβήτητα*, predicative; cp. § 5 *note*. Some MSS. read *ἀναμφισβήτητος*. This assertion does not agree with Herodotus' account (8. 93), which says distinctly that the Aeginetans, not the Athenians, won the *ἀριστεία* at Salamis.

l. 10. *δμονοοῦσαν*, etc.; cp. § 5 *note*.

l. 11. *γνησίαν*, 'genuine'; cp. Hdt. 7. 103, where Xerxes expounds the courage which is not *γνησία*, i.e. the courage which acts under compulsion.

§ 44. l. 15. *πολὺ πλείστον*, cp. § 40. Here, as in § 76, we must supply *μέρος*.

l. 16. *κοινήν*, etc., cp. §§ 5, 43. Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1391 *διὰ τῶν ἰδίων κινδύνων κοινῆς σωτηρίας πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αἵτιοι κατέστησαν*.

l. 17. *ὑστερον δέ*, etc. Plato in the *Menexenus* characteristically omits to say anything of this fortification. For the facts cp. Hdt. 8. 40, 9. 8; from which we learn that even before the battle of Salamis this wall had been begun. Afterwards the Athenians sent an embassy to announce the overtures of Alexander, but for ten days it was kept in suspense pending the completion of the wall. It was then that Chileus pointed out the inutility of the fortifications without the support of the Athenian fleet, and the Spartans thereupon abandoned their selfish policy. Cp. Isocr. Panegyr. 93.

l. 18. *ἀγαπάντων μὲν*, etc.; cp. § 21 *note*.

l. 20. *διανοουμένων*, etc., 'purposing to overlook the subjection

of the rest of the Greeks to the barbarians;' cp. § 29. περιδεῖν, 'to Page 34. be indifferent to.' Cp. Hdt. 3. 68 μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτὶς εἰς Μήδους περιελθούσαν.

1. 21. ὀργισθέντες, 'indignant;' cp. Hdt. 8. 7 ἐς μὲν νῦν τὸ παρεὶν § 45. Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μνηύουσι, but Isocr. Panegy. 94 οὐδ' ὀργισθέντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι.

1. 1. εἰ ταύτην, etc.; cp. §§ 21, 22 notes. Tr. 'if they should Page 35. cherish this intention.'

1. 3. μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. The Athenians received flattering invitations from Mardonius to join the Persians, (i) through Alexander of Macedon (Hdt. 8. 140), (ii) through a certain Murychides (ib. 9. 4); and Herodotus intimates that they would have accepted the conditions if the Peloponnesians had not repented. Cp. Hdt. 9. 6. Isocrates (Panegy. 94) erroneously places the negotiations before the battle of Salamis.

1. 4. ἐκείνοις, the Persians; τοῦτους, the Spartans.

1. 5. ἐν Ἰσθμῷ. For the omission of the article cp. Hdt. 9. 27 τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ.

ἀκινδύνως, etc.; cp. Xen. Anab. 3. 43 ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται ἡν θεὸς θέλῃ.

1. 6. διδασκόμενοι, cp. § 19 note. Cp. Hdt. 9. 10. The Spartans § 46. marched by night without informing the Athenians of their intention, and the immediate cause of their despatch was not the speech of the envoys, but that of Chileus; cp. § 44 note.

1. 10. Πλαταιάς, a town in the S. W. corner of Boeotia.

ἀποδράντων. He refers to the disorderly retreat from the springs of Gargaphia to the island of Oeroe; cp. Hdt. 9. 52, where some of the allies are said to have actually fled into the town of Plataea. The retreat, which was only commenced after the deliberation of the generals, was in fact necessitated by the harassing attacks of the Persian horse, who cut off the supply of forage and water from the camp; cp. Hdt. 9. 50. The precipitancy, however, by which it was marked was bitterly resented by the Lacedaemonians; cp. Hdt. 9. 60.

1. 12. Λακεδαιμόνιοι, etc.; cf. Hdt. 9. 61 *et seq.* The Athenians, on the receipt of the message of the Spartans announcing their isolation, at once set off to assist them, but in doing so were assailed by the medizing Greeks. Τεγεᾶται, cp. Hdt. 9. 61 οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

1. 13. Ἀθηναῖοι, etc.; cp. Hdt. 9. 67. The Athenians were chiefly opposed by the Thebans, until the close of the day, when their services were required for the *τειχομαχία*.

Πλαταιῆς. Herodotus does not mention that the Plataeans

Page 35. took part in the battle, though we learn (cp. Hdt. 9. 28) that prior to the retreat they occupied the next place to the Athenians.

§ 47. 1. 16. καλλίστην τελευτήν, etc., cp. Pl. Menex. p. 241 D οἱ τοῖς τῶν προτέρων ἔργοις τέλος τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέθεσαν.

1. 18. δόντες ἔλεγχον, 'affording a proof.' Cp. Lysias 18. 19 διδόναι πίστιν τῆς εὐνοίας.

1. 23. ἡγεμόνες, etc.; cp. § 57. The claim here advanced for Athens can hardly be maintained, except in the limited sense of a naval hegemony. Even this was conceded to her only for a temporary purpose and in exceptional circumstances. Cp. Thuc. 1. 95. The natural head of any Pan-Hellenic confederacy was of course Sparta; cp. Hdt. 8. 3, where an attempt to transfer the naval command to Athens is stated to have met with warm resistance from the allies. Isocrates' Panegyric is essentially a polemic against this invincible faith in Spartan leadership.

# §§ 48-66. Ἑλληνικά.

Thus far Lysias has depicted Athens fulfilling her duties as a private state. He now opens a new chapter, in which she figures as the rival of Sparta, at first successful, but afterwards overborne. In this protracted career there was offered a large choice of incident, and Lysias finds himself compelled to omit important events like the battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta, the capture of Sphacteria, the fight off Arginusae, etc., to which Plato alludes in the Menexenus. The notice of Thrasybulus' exploit is significant, since Lysias had lost his brother Polemarchus through the tyranny of the Thirty and was himself a staunch supporter of the democracy; cp. *infra*.

§ 48. 1. 24. Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου, opp. to Μηδικοῦ. This is not the Peloponnesian War, but the intermittent state of antagonism which existed in the interval between the Persian and the Peloponnesian War; cp. Thuc. 1. 18.

καταστάντος, 'having arisen;' cp. Thuc. 1. 1053 τοῦ πολέμου καταστάντος. Cp. German *entstehen*.

1. 25. ζῆλος, 'emulation;' φθόνος, 'envy.' Cp. Pl. Menex. p. 242 A εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης καὶ τῆς πόλεως τιμωμένης ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτήν ὁ δὴ φιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι προσπίπτειν πρῶτον μὲν ζῆλος ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος.

Page 36. 1. 1. μέγα μὲν, etc.; cp. § 15 *note*.

1. 2. ἐγκλημάτων, 'grievances.'

1. 4. ἐλάβανον, i.e. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Cp. § 3 *note*. Owing to the change of construction the words πάντες μέγα φρονούντες, etc., become a *nominativus pendens*. For the fact cp. Thuc. 1. 105. This event took place in 458 B. C.

Πολιορκούντων, sc. τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

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1. 5. Αἴγυπτον. In 460 B. C. the Athenians, who had sailed with 200 ships against Cyprus, received overtures from Inaros, the revolted prince of the Libyans, to assist him against Persia. They accordingly entered the mouth of the Nile, and proceeded to blockade the Persians in the White Fort at Memphis. Cp. Thuc. 1. 104.

§ 49.

\*Αἴγιναν. After the naval victory the Athenians landed at Aegina, and commenced a siege under the command of Leocrates. The Peloponnesians assisted the Aeginetans with troops, and, in order to cause a diversion, the Corinthians marched into the Megarid and occupied Geraneia. Cp. Thuc. 1. 108.

1. 6. τῆς ἡλικίας, 'the flower of their army.' Cp. Thuc. 3. 672 τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρμένην.

1. 8. ἔρημον, cp. § 5 note.

1. 9. πανδημεί, 'in a body;' cp. Thuc. 1. 90 τειχίζειν δὲ πανδημεί. For the form cp. αὐτοβοεί.

1. 10. Γεράνεια, a mountain on the borders of Corinth and Megara.

1. 11. ἐτόλμησαν, 'stoop.' *τολμᾶν*, in the most general sense, means to overcome one's first instincts, here pride in one's *ἀξιώσις* (cp. § 64 note). Cp. § 68; Pl. Menex. p. 245 C οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν οὔτε ἐκδοῦναι οὔτε ὀμῶσαι.

§ 50,

1. 12. ταῖς δ' αὐτῶν, cp. § 40.

τῶν ἐπόντων, 'the aggressors.'

1. 13. οἱ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐντός, i. e. those who were under the age for service. At Athens this period extended from eighteen to sixty. Cp. Smith's Dict. of Antiq. *sub* Exercitus.

1. 14. αὐτοὶ μόνοι. For the pleonasm cp. Lysias 31. 17 τότε μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος, τότε δὲ ἑτέροις ἡγούμενος. αὐτός is found with the distinctive meaning 'alone,' esp. in Theocritus; cp. Idyll 5. 85

καὶ μ' ἄ παῖς ποθορεῦσα 'τάλαν' λέγει 'αὐτὸς ἀμέλγεις;'

τὸν κίνδυνον, etc.; cp. § 21.

1. 15. οἱ μὲν, etc. These would be *Μαραθωνομάχαι* in the literal sense.

§ 51.

1. 16. πολλαχοῦ, 'on many a field.' Cp. § 47 ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κινδύνοις δόντες ἔλεγχον. ἀγαθοί. Cp. § 1 note.

1. 17. μιμούμενοι, cp. § 61; Pl. Menex. 336 E ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶνδε ἀρετὴν παρακελευόμενοι. These infant warriors were not like their brethren in the Republic (p. 468) 'winged' for flight.

τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων, etc. We are reminded of Aristotle's description (Pol. 3. 4. 14) of the good citizen, δεῖ δὲ τὸν πολίτην τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπίστασθαι καὶ δύνασθαι καὶ ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχεῖν καὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν πολίτου τὸ τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀρχὴν ἐπίστασθαι ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας.

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- Page 36. 1. 18. τὸ ἐπιταπτόμενον, sc. *δεῖ*.  
 1. 19. δυναμένων is probably used in a moral sense; cp. § 64 οὐτ' ἐλαττοῦσθαι δυνάμενοι.  
 1. 21. ἄπασαν τὴν δύναμιν, cp. § 15 *note*. τοῖς ἤδη ἀπειρηκόσι, 'those who were already worn out.'  
 1. 22. τοῖς οὐπω δυναμένοις, 'others who were still immature;' cp. §. 53 *infra*.  
 1. 23. ἀξιώσαντας, 'presumed,' acc. after ἐνίκων.  
 § 52. τὴν σφετέραν, Attica. τὴν ἄλλοτρίαν, Megara, which however at this time formed part of the Athenian possessions; cp. Thuc. i. 103.  
 1. 25. αἰσχίστου, cp. Thuc. i. 105. The Corinthians on their return were reproached by the older people and sallied out again. A fresh engagement followed, which was also decided in favour of the Athenians.  
 § 53. οἱ μὲν, etc. For δύνασθαι, used absolutely of physical strength, cp. Lysias 24. 4 καὶ γὰρ τῷ σώματι δύνασθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων. Cp. our expression 'able-bodied.' For the antithesis between σώμα and ψυχὴ cp. § 15.  
 1. 26. ἀμφοτέροι, cp. § 9 *note*.  
 1. 27. μετὰ καλλίστης, etc.; cp. § 14 *note*.  
 1. 28. ἐπαιδεύοντο, cp. § 3 *note*.  
 1. 29. ἐβουλεύοντο, etc. The young went on with their education, the old returned to their duties as advisers.  
 Page 37. 1. 1. καθ' ἕκαστον, 'one by one.' Cp. Lysias 13. 65 οὐδὲν μὲν δεῖ  
 § 54. καθ' ἕκαστον λέγειν.  
 τὰ κινδυνευθέντα, 'the feats which have been performed.' Cp. § 70 τὰ δυστυχηθέντα. Cp. also § 3 *note*.  
 1. 2. ὅφ' ἑνός. Cp. Thuc. 2. 35. 2. καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὐ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι.  
 οὐδὲ τὰ ἐν ἅπαντι, etc.; cp. § 1; Pl. Menex. p. 239 B ὅ τε χρόνος βραχύς ἀξίως διηγήσασθαι.  
 1. 3. τίς γάρ, etc. Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1389 πῶς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀνυπέβλητον παντὶ λόγῳ τὴν ἀρετὴν καταλελοίπασιν;  
 § 55. 1. 8. ἀπέδειξαν, 'rendered.'  
 ἰββομήκοντα μὲν ἔτη, from the organisation of the confederacy of Delos, 475, to the siege of Athens, 405 B. C. The remainder of the paragraph consists of a laudation of the Athenian empire, with very distinct reference to the misgovernment of Sparta which succeeded to it and which formed the best apology for it.  
 1. 9. ἀστασιόστους, 'free from faction.' This statement is by no means true. We may object to it the alternate revolutions at Corcyra, which Thucydides asserts to have been only the prelude to a universal state of discord. Cp. Thuc. 3. 82. 1.

1. 11. ἀλλὰ τὸ ἴσον, etc., 'compelling all to be equal.' The Chians nevertheless retained their aristocratic constitution; cp. Thuc. § 56.

8. 24. 4.

1. 12. οὐδὲ τοὺς ξυμμάχους, etc., by favouring particular persons and families, which would have led to feuds. Isocrates (Panegy. 100) notices the charge that the dominance of Athens had been mischievous to Hellas, particularly in the enslavement of the Melians and the massacre of the people of Scioné. Dismissing these cases as examples of extreme κόλασις incidental to the maintenance of empire, he contends that Athenian hegemony had brought good fortune to individual families and prosperity to communities. For a long discussion of the relations between Athens and her allies cp. Thuc. 1. 75 *et seq.* For the construction cp. § 13 *note*.

1. 14. καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, etc. Cp. Pl. Menex. 241 E βασιλέα. ἐποίησαν δέισαντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίᾳ τὸν νοῦν προσέχειν ἀλλὰ μὴ τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβουλεύειν φθορᾷ.

1. 16. εἰδίδου, 'was ready to give.' Cp. Lysias 7. 43 καὶ ἐμοῦ ἅπαντας δίδόντος τοὺς θεράποντας οὓς φησι παραγενέσθαι παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἤθελεν.

καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, etc. He had good reason as long as the Athenians prosecuted their expeditions to Sestos, Byzantium, Cyprus, Egypt, etc.

1. 17. οὔτε τριήρεις, etc. This was one of the stipulations of the Peace of Callias (444 B. C.), with which the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B. C.) was naturally contrasted (cp. Isocr. Panegy. 120; Dem. De Rhod. Libertat. p. 199). By the former also the Asiatic Greeks were secured from oppression, while the latter abandoned them to the Persians (Xen. Hell. 5. 1. 31). The speaker is a little ungrateful, from a strictly Athenian point of view, since it was thanks to the Persian fleet of Conon that the Long Walls of Athens were restored.

1. 18. οὔτε τύραννος. The effect of Spartan supremacy was almost everywhere the institution of a decarchy in close relations with a resident harmost who was sometimes a helot (Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 12).

1. 19. οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, etc. Plato (Menex. p. 245) expresses the utmost abhorrence of the perfidious surrender of the Greeks in Asia Minor, from which he pointedly exempts the Athenians.

1. 2. ἀπολομένων, etc. The event referred to is the battle of Aegospotami, by which the Athenians lost almost their entire fleet. § 57.

1. 3. ἡγεμόνων κακίᾳ, 'through the incompetence of the commanders.' Cp. Xen. Hell. 2. 1. The generals made a fatal mistake in anchoring off a barren coast, since the men, in order to obtain provisions, had to go a distance of fifteen stades to Sestos. Alcibiades, who was then staying at the Hellespont, warned them of their folly, but in vain, § 58.



Page 38. Lysander meanwhile ignored all offers of battle on the part of the Athenians until five days had passed, when he took advantage of the ill-founded contempt which they had conceived for him and surprised them dispersed along the Chersonese. He thus captured 171 ships and took 3000 prisoners (cp. Plut. Lysand. c. 10). κακίᾳ, cp. § 1 note on ἀρετῇ.

θεῶν δυσνοίᾳ, 'through the ill-will of the gods.' This might have been occasioned through the omission of the usual sacrifices. Cp. Xen. Hell. 4. 8. 36; Hdt. 9. 61, 62.

ξυμφορᾶς, cp. §§ 5, 59 notes.

1. 6. ἡ τῆς πόλεως, etc., cp. §§ 18 note, 60 note.

§ 59. 1. 7. ἑτέρων, the Lacedaemonians. Cp. §§ 56, 57 notes. οἱ πρότερον, etc., the Persians.

1. 9. ἐμβαλινοντες, 'embark.' We might perhaps have expected ἀναγόμενοι, but the construction is a pregnant one. The sea-fight to which Lysias alludes is the battle of Cnidos 394 B. C., in which the Lacedaemonians under Pisander were defeated by the far superior fleet of Conon and Pharnabazus (cp. Xen. Hell. 4. 3. 10).

ἐπλευσαν δέ, etc. In the spring following their victory the allied commanders sailed for Greece, where they touched at Melos and ravaged the coast of Laconia. After taking Cythera and fortifying it as an outpost they proceeded to restore the Long Walls of Athens (cp. Xen. Hell. 4. 8. 7).

1. 10. δουλεύουσι δέ, etc., cp. § 57 note.

1. 11. τὴν ξυμφορὰν, i. e. the battle of Aegospotami. Lysias elsewhere alludes to this event in the same veiled manner, cp. 31. 8 ὅτε ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἦν, ἥς ἐγὼ καθ' ὅσον ἀναγκάζομαι, κατὰ τοσοῦτον μέμνημαι.

οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὴν νίκην, etc. Xenophon (Hell. 4. 8. 8) records the appointment of Nicophemus, an Athenian, as harmost in the island of Cythera.

§ 60. 1. 12. ἀξιον, cp. § 3 note.

1. 13. τότε after the disaster at Aegospotami.

κείρασθαι, 'to cut off one's hair' in sign of grief; cp. Eur. Her. Fur. 1382

ὦ γαῖα Κάδμου, πᾶς δὲ Θηβαῖος λεῶς

κείρασθε συμπενθήσατ' ἔλθετ' εἰς τάφον.

1. 14. ὡς ξυγκαταθαπτομένης, etc. Cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1396 γεγέννηται φανερόν ὅτι ἡ πᾶσα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀρα ἐλευθερία ἐν ταῖς τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρῶν ψυχαῖς διεσώζετο.

1. 15. ὡς δυστυχῆς for ὅτι οὕτω, cp. § 34. With these words supply ἐστί, cp. § 3.

1. 16. ὀρφανή, 'bereft.'

1. 17. λαβόμενος, 'on having to do with;' more usually ἀντιλαμβάνομαι. Page 38.

1. 18. τῇ μὲν, Greece.

τῷ δέ, the Great King.

περίσστηκε, 'has come about.' περιστάται is commonly used of unexpected issues.

1. 19. ζῆλος, cp. 48 note.

ἐγγίγνεται, 'is implanted.'

τῆς τῶν προγόνων, etc., 'the conception of his ancestors,' i. e. the subjugation of Greece.

1. 20. ἐτίχθην, 'was led away.'

1. 21. ἐκείνων δέ, etc. The form, in which the subject is introduced, resembles Lysias' manner in speaking of those ancestors of the Athenians, who, as not having been buried in the Ceramicus, would not strictly come within the scope of the oration; cp. § 3. The ensuing passage might excite criticism on the ground that the triumph of the democrats was gained partly at the expense of their fellow-citizens; cp. Pl. Menex. 243 D.

1. 23. περὶ τοῦ δικαίου, cp. § 17. There appears to be no distinction between περὶ and ὑπέρ, other than that the former is much oftener in use. The interchange is due to a love of variety; cp. § 68; Dem. Olynth. 1. p. 10 νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ' ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολέμοισιν.

1. 24. δημοκρατίας, cp. § 18 note.

στασιάζαντες. There were thus formed two parties, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως and οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς (cp. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 36, 40; Lysias 12. 92).

πάντας πολεμίους, etc., cp. §§ 10, 62.

1. 25. Πειραιᾶ, the sea-port of Athens.

κατήλθον, 'returned:' possibly 'came down,' i. e. from Phylé.

This event relates to the year 403 B. C. Thrasybulus arrived in the Piræus by night, and was at once attacked by the Thirty assisted by Spartans. The latter were, however, defeated with the loss of Critias and other leaders, and the government of the Ten was instituted. Pausanias, the Spartan king, after some desultory fighting, effected a reconciliation between the contending parties, and the assault of the last stronghold of the oligarchs at Eleusis was followed by the complete re-establishment of democracy.

ὑπὸ νόμου, etc., cp. § 1 note on λόγῳ, also § 19 note. The antithesis is a very common one and much insisted on by the sophists. Cp. Pl. Menex. 245 D ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φύσει μὲν βάρβαροι ὄντες νόμῳ δὲ Ἕλληνες, Gorg. 482 E φύσει μὲν οὐκ ἔστι καλά, νόμῳ δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἔστιν ἢ τε φύσις καὶ ὁ νόμος.

§ 61.

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**Page 39.** 1. 1. φύσεως, cp. § 51. Here the word is almost equivalent to *εὐφύτα*.

The use of the term *ἀναγκασθέντες*, as applied to law, recalls Lysias' former phrase *ὑπὸ νόμου βασιλευμένους*. Cp. § 19 *note*. Notice the *homoioteleuta*.

*καινοῖς*, 'novel,' i.e. in *στάσις* with their countrymen; cp. § 67.

1. 2. *μιμησάμενοι*, cp. § 51, where the word is used of children.  
 § 62. 1. 3. *ταῖς αὐτῶν*, etc., cp. § 44; Lysias 12. 97 *τοὺς μὲν ἡλευθερώσατε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα καταγγάγετε*.

*κοινήν*, predicative; cp. § 5 *note*.

1. 4. *αἰρούμενοι*, sc. *μᾶλλον*, cp. Lysias 10. 21 *δεξαίμην ἂν πάσας τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐρριφέναι ἢ τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ τὸν πατέρα*. For the sentiment cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1397 *καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ροῦντο ἢ καταλυομένης ταύτης (τῆς ἰσχυρίας) παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ζῆν φιλοψυχήσαντες*.

1. 5. *ξυμφοραῖς*, cp. §§ 6, 59 *notes*.

1. 6. *ὀργιζόμενοι*, cp. § 45; Lysias 12. 96 *ἀνθ' ὃν ὀργίσθητε μὲν ὥσπερ ὅτε ἐφεύγετε. μᾶλλον βουληθέντες*, etc. As Athenians they had especial reasons, cp. § 17. An exile lost all his property (cp. Thuc. 5. 60), except in rare instances, and became ceremonially impure (cp. Pl. Legg. 881). Cp. also § 66 *note*.

1. 8. *ἐνυμμάχους μὲν*, etc., cp. § 10; 25. 23 *καὶ τοὺτους ἡγήσθαι δημοτικωτάτους οἵτινες ὁμονοεῖν ὑμᾶς βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐμμένουσι*.

*ὅρκοι καὶ ξυνθήκαι*, 'oaths and covenants,' the regular expression for treaties to which opposing parties subscribed. The particular *ὅρκοι καὶ συνθήκαι* which are referred to in this place were brought forward during the siege, cp. Xen. Hell. 2. 2. 11, unless the words refer to some promised amnesty such as was afterwards granted; cp. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 43.

*πολεμίους*, etc.; cp. § 61.

1. 9. *τοὺς τε πρότερον*, etc., the Lacedaemonians.

1. 10. *ἀλλ' ὁμῶς*, 'but still.' *οὐ τὸ πλήθος*, cp. §§ 23, 40.

1. 11. *ἐν τοῖς σώμασι*, etc., opp. to the hire of mercenaries. Lysias' statement, however, must not be understood in any exclusive sense; cp. § 66. A certain *ἄξλωμα* is attached to personal risks voluntarily undertaken; cp. § 3 *note*.

1. 12. *μάρτυρας*, cp. § 10 *note*; Plut. Theseus 27, where the tombs of the Amazons are adduced in evidence.

1. 14. *τοιγάρτοι*, cp. § 20 *note*.

1. 15. *ἀντί, ἐκ* is more usual in such a context.

*ἀπέδειξαν*, 'made;' cp. § 55 *note*; *ἀπέφηναν*, same meaning.

1. 16. *τείχη δέ*, etc. This was really due to Conon; cp. § 59 *note*; Page 39. Dem. c. Lept. 478.

1. 17. *οἱ δὲ κατελθόντες*, 'such of them as returned.'

§ 64.

1. 18. *ἀδελφά*, predicative; cp. § 5 *note*: also § 1 *note*. Tr. 'akin'; cp. Soph. Ant. 192

*καὶ νῦν ἀδελφὰ τῶνδε κηρύξας ἔχει.*

1. 19. *τιμωρίαν*, cp. § 16 *note*, § 67 *note*.

1. 20. *ἐτράποντο*, 'addressed themselves.'

*καὶ οὐτ' ἐλαττοῦσθαι*, etc., 'and as they could neither take less than their due nor wished themselves to obtain more.'

1. 21. For *δύνασθαι* of moral objects cp. § 51.

1. 22. *τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν*, etc., cp. § 62.

1. 24. *ἡξίωσαν*, 'consent.' It was against their principles; cp. § 65. §§ 9, 52, etc.

*ἔργους δέ*, etc., cp. § 1 *note* on *λόγῳ*.

1. 25. *ἀπελογήσαντο*, 'pleaded.'

*κακία, ἀρετῇ*, cp. § 1 *note*.

1. 26. *ἔδυστύχησεν*, cp. § 6 *note*.

1. 27. *βία*, 'in spite of.'

1. 28. *εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν*, sc. *χώραν*. Cp. § 9.

1. 29. *δμονοοῦντες*, 'if they had been in harmony'; cp. § 24. He says nothing of the rivalry between Pausanias and Lysander, which much facilitated their project; cp. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 29.

1. 1. *ἐκεῖνοι*, i.e. *οἱ πολῖται*.

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1. 2. *ζηλοῦνται*, cp. § 48 *note*.

§ 66.

*ἄξιον*, cp. § 61 *note*. As a class the *ξένοι* occupied somewhat the same position in the city as the *δοῦλοι* in the mansion.

*τοὺς ξένους*, 'the foreigners,' mercenaries. This notice is interesting (i) because Lysias was himself a *ξένος*, (ii) because he equipped, according to the Pseudo-Plutarch (Vit. 10. Orat. 838 E) 300, according to Justin (5. 9. 9) 500 troops in the democratic interest. The more extensive employment of mercenaries which began about this time (387 B. C.), through improvements in the art of war and the decline of public spirit, was destined to prove the ruin of Athens; cp. Demosthenes' *Philippics passim*. Iphicrates, whose peltasts cut to pieces a Spartan *mora* (Xen. Hell. 4. 5. 11), and Chabrias were the two most famous captains of these organised bandits.

1. 3. *οἱ τῷ πλήθει*, etc., cp. Lysias 31. 29 (*οἱ μέτοικοι*) *οὐ κατὰ τὸ προσήκον ἑαυτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν τῷ δήμῳ*.

1. 5. *πατρίδα*, etc., 'deeming that valour was their country.' For this trope cp. Lysias 31. 6 *τὴν οὐσίαν πατρίδα ἑαυτοῖς ἡγείσθαι*. Aristotle (Eth. Nich. 3. 9. 6) describes the courage of mercenaries as

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**Page 40.** distinctly inferior to that of citizens. What courage they have is engendered by desperation.

τοιαύτην, 'as we see' or 'so noble.'

1. 6. ἀνθ' ὧν, 'in return for;' cp. Lysias 26. 20 ἀντὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς τετίμηκεν.

1. 8. τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, accusative of duration; cp. § 78.

### §§ 67–68. Κορίνθια.

See Introduction, p. 17.

§ 67. 1. 9. οἱ δὲ νῦν θαπτόμενοι, opp. to οἱ ἐνθάδε κείμενοι.

ὑπὸ παλαιῶν, etc., cp. § 61, same antithesis.

1. 11. οὐ τὴν αὐτήν, etc., 'not being of the same mind;' cp. § 20 note.

οἱ μὲν, the Lacedaemonians.

1. 12. τῶν ἀγαθῶν, cp. § 21 note.

ἐφθόνουν, cp. § 48 note. Verbs of grudging take an accusative of the person and a genitive of the thing.

1. 13. οὐ τῆς προτέρας, cp. § 49. In this way they showed their μεγαλοψυχία: cp. Aristot. Eth. Nic. 4. 3. 30; cp. also § 64.

1. 14. περὶ πολλοῦ, etc., 'setting a high value on;' cp. § 75. ὥσπερ ἐκείνοι περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμεθα.

1. 15. πᾶσιν, cp. §§ 2, 57.

§ 68. 1. 16. ἐτόλμησαν, cp. § 50 note.

μεγάλην ποιούντες, cp. § 55 μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν πατρίδα.

1. 19. ἐκείνων, the allies.

1. 20. νικήσαντες, cp. Introduction, p. 19.

1. 21. ἡξίουν, 'deemed worthy of;' opp. to ἐφθόνουν (§ 67). Cp.

§§ 56, 64 for the spirit manifested.

δυστυχήσαντες, 'if they had failed;' cp. § 24. Cp. also § 6 note. βέβαιον, predicative.

### §§ 69–76. Θρήνος.

**Page 41.** 1. 1. ἐκείνοις, the allies of the Lacedaemonians.

§ 69. οὕτω διακειμένους, 'in such a case;' cp. § 30; that is, unable of themselves to avert slavery.

-1. 2. οὗτοι δέ, the Athenians slain.

1. 3. παιδευθέντες, cp. § 3 note.

1. 4. ἄνδρες δέ, etc., cp. Pl. Menex. p. 247 B γνόντες ὅτι ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ τε εἶναι ἔστιν αἰσχίον οὐδὲν ἢ παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν τιμώμενον μὴ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ δόξαν προγόνων.

τε . . . καί, 'as,' 'so;' cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 758.

1. 6. αἱτιοί, 'authors.'

Page 41.

1. 7. ἐπηνώρθωσαν, 'retrieved.' Notice the double augment; cp. § 70. *ἡνειχόμην*.

τὰ ὑφ' ἑτέρων, etc., 'the failures of others;' cp. § 54: the principle is the same as in the use of the cognate accusative with intransitive verbs.

1. 8. πόρρω δέ, etc. etc. This was in every way a great gain; cp. Dem. Olynth. 1. p. 17 εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἔξει πόσα χρή νομίσαι ζημιώσεσθαι; καὶ πρόσσεσθ' ἡ ὕβρις καὶ ἔτι ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνῃ οὐδε μᾶς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσιν.

1. 10. τῇ μὲν πατρίδι, etc., cp. § 18; Pl. Menex. 238 C πολιτεία γὰρ τροφὴ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καλὴ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἢ δ' ἐναντία κακῶν. Referring to the isolation of philosophers in cities, and their declining their share of the burdens, Plato (Rep. 520 B) says δίκην δ' ἔχει τό γε αὐτοφυὲς μηδενὶ τροφὴν ὀφείλον μηδ' ἐκτίνειν τῷ προθυμείσθαι τὰ τροφεία. Most MSS. read τῇ μὲν γάρ, in which case there would be no *verbum finitum*. Such a construction is by no means unparalleled; cp. Lysias 13. 63 οἱ δ' αὐτῶν περιγενόμενοι καὶ σωθέντες οὖς, etc.

τοῖς δὲ θρέψασι, 'those who reared them;' cp. § 73 note.

§ 71.

1. 12. ποθεῖν, 'to miss' or 'regret.' Lat. *desidero*.

1. 13. τοῦ ἐπιλοῖσθαι βίου, 'in view of their future life;' cp. Pl. Menex. p. 248 B διάγειν τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν βίον. For the genitive with verbs of grief and sympathy cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 488.

τίς γάρ, etc., cp. Dem. Epit. p. 1399 οἱ μὲν οὖν ζῶντες οἰκεῖοι τούτων ἔλεινοι τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν ἐστερημένοι καὶ συνηθείας πολλῆς καὶ φιλανθρώπου διεξενγμένοι.

1. 19. πολλῶν δέ, etc., 'in circumstances so various and terrible.'

§ 72.

1. 20. νεωτέροι, etc., 'too young to know.'

οἷων for ὁποίων.

§ 73.

1. 23. τούτων, pleonastic, as it refers to what follows; cp. Lysias 10. 28 τί γὰρ ἂν τούτου ἀναιρώτερον γένοιτο αὐτῷ ἢ τεθνάναι, etc. For the sentiment cp. Dem. Epit. 1400 χαλεπὸν πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ παῖδας στερηθῆναι καὶ ἐρήμοις εἶναι τῶν οἰκιστῶν γηροτρόφων. Sons, unless they were illegitimate or had not been taught a trade, were under legal obligations to support their parents. If they failed to do so they became ἄτιμοι.

1. 24. ἀδυνάτους, 'infirm;' cp. § 53 note.

1. 25. πασῶν, etc. Notice the *hyperbaton*, and the emphasis obtained by it; cp. §§ 23, 75.

1. 26. γυγόνεσθαι, 'to find themselves;' cp. § 74, where this terrible picture is retouched.

1. 28. ποθεινότερον, 'more desirable.'

Page 42.

- § 74. 1. 1. τοῖς καταλειπομένοις, 'the survivors.'  
 1. 2. πῶς δ' αὐτοὺς, etc., 'how are they to cease from mourning?'  
 1. 3. πότερον ἐν ταῖς, etc., 'amid the city's misfortunes? Why, at such a time it is natural even for others to remember them. Amid the general successes, then? Nay, they have good cause to grieve,' etc. Cp. Lysias 10. 23 πότερον ὅτι δικαίως ἀκήκοα ἐγκαλεῖτε; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ φῆσαιτε. ἀλλ' ὅτι βελτίων καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων ὁ φεύγων ἐμοῦ; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀξιώσειεν, etc.  
 1. 7. ἀπολαύνωντων, 'reaping the fruits of;' cp. § 76. For the genitive with verbs of enjoyment cp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. § 491.  
 1. 8. ὅταν ὀρώσι, etc., cp. § 73. It is not improbable that Lysias is speaking from bitter experience, as the occupation of λογογράφος to which he was reduced was one of some disesteem (cp. Pl. Phaedrus 257).  
 1. 10. μέγα φρονούντες, cp. § 15 note.  
 § 75. 1. 11. μόνην, etc. Observe the *hyperbaton* and its use; cp. § 73 note.  
 1. 12. ἀποδοῦναι χάριν, 'to show gratitude.'  
 εἰ τοὺς μὲν, etc., cp. Pl. Menex. 248 E τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὡς ἡμῶν καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσίᾳ γηροτροφισόντων καὶ ἐπιμελησομένων, etc. The relations of citizens slain in war were under the special protection of the polemarch. The most usual form of acknowledging public services was by the grant of ἀτελεία and σιτήσεις. Cp. Dict. of Ant.  
 1. 13. περὶ πολλοῦ, etc., cp. §§ 67, 71, 76.  
 1. 16. βοηθοὺς, 'champions,' 'protectors.' Notice the position of εἰ after the emphatic words; cp. Lysias 7. 37 περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἡλεγχον.  
 § 76. 1. 17. εἰκότως, 'in reason.'  
 τιμῶμεν, cp. § 80.  
 1. 19. οἱ τῆς μὲν, etc., cp. § 74.  
 1. 20. τὸ ἴσον, sc. μέρος, 'an equal measure;' cp. § 44.  
 1. 21. ἀποθανόντων, sc. τούτων.  
 γνησίως, 'really.'

§§ 77-81. παραμυθία.

- § 77. 1. 22. ἀλλὰ γάρ, 'and yet;' cp. Lysias 7. 42 ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ βουλή, ταῦτα μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι δεῖ λέγειν. This elliptical expression might be thus expanded, ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν ἄδην ἔχομεν, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα.  
 1. 23. οὐ γάρ, etc., 'for we were fully aware that we were mortal;'

cp. Pl. Menex. 247 D οὐ γὰρ ἀθανάτους σφίσι παῖδας εὐχοντο **Page 42.**  
γενέσθαι.

1. 25. λίαν οὕτω βαρέως φέρειν, 'to be excessively depressed.'  
For the pleonasm cp. § 2; Pl. Legg. 766 A κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ  
μάλιστα.

1. 26. ἐπισταμένους, etc., cp. Psalm 49. 10 'For he seeth that wise  
men also die and perish together, as well as the ignorant and foolish,  
and leave their riches to others.'

κοινός, 'impartial;' cp. § 10. Cp. also the inscription cited by  
Demosthenes (De Coron. p. 322)

μαρνόμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δέματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν  
ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀθῆναι κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῆν.

1. 2. ὑπερορᾷ, 'disregards;' cp. § 29.

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θαυμάζει, 'stands in awe of.'

ἴσον, etc., 'shows himself fair;' cp. Soph. O. C. 1220 θάνατος  
ἰσοτέλεστος.

1. 3. εἰ μὲν γάρ, etc., cp. Simon. 65 δ' αὖ θάνατος ἔειχε καὶ τὸν  
φυγόμενον. Observe the anacoluthon; cp. § 3 note.

§ 78.

1. 5. τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, accusative of duration; cp. § 66. With  
ἄξιον supply ἦν. Although the condition is unfulfilled, it is not  
necessary, with verbs expressing duty, etc., to insert ἂν. Cp. Jelf,  
Gr. Gr. § 398.

1. 6. νῦν δέ, logical. Tr. 'as it is:' cp. Lysias 18. 17 νυνὶ δὲ πάντες  
ἀν' ὁμολογήσατε ὁμόνοιαν, etc.

1. 7. ὃ τε δαίμων, etc., cp. Theocr. 4. 40

αἰαὶ τῷ σκληρῷ μάλα δαίμονος ὅς μ' λελόγχει.

The δαίμων is each man's tutelary deity, who is supposed not to quit  
one at death, but to conduct the liberated spirit to its new sphere;  
cp. Pl. Phaedr. 108. For the notion cp. Dem. De Coron. p. 258  
πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κὰν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ  
τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ.

1. 8. ὥστε, 'hence.'

§ 79.

εὐδαιμονιστάτους, etc., § 23. Cp. Solon's account of εὐδαιμονία  
(Hdt. 1. 35), and Aristotle's criticism of it (Eth. Nic. 1. 10 1).

1. 9. οἵτινες, like *quière qui*; cp. § 81. Tr. 'since they,' etc.

1. 11. οὐκ ἐπιτρέψαντες, etc., 'not committing their interests to  
chance.'

1. 12. τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον, 'natural death;' cp. Dem. De  
Coron. p. 296 ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζον τὸν τῆς  
εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον περιμένει, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
ταύτην ἐπιθεῖν δουλεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐβελήσει.

1. 13. τοιγάρτοι, cp. § 20 note.

1. 14. οἳ equivalent here to οἵτινες, cp. § 79 note.

§ 80.



LYSIAS' EPITAPHIOS.

Page 43. 1. 15. ὑμνοῦνται, cp. § 2.

1. 17. ἀγῶνες, etc., cp. Pl. Menex. 249 B πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πασῆς. The reference is not simply to the immediate occasion, but to the annual commemoration in the Ceramicus.

1. 18. σοφίας, 'skill;' cp. § 2. He alludes perhaps mainly to *epitaphii*.

πλούτου. By this horse-races are meant. ἵπποτροφία was only possible to rich people.

ὡς ἀξίους. For the anacoluthon cp. § 3 *note*.

1. 19. ταῖς αὐταῖς, etc., odes, games, and sacrifices; cp. Dem. Epit. 1400 καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἀγῶνων ἡξιωμένους ἀθανάτων.

αἷς καί, cp. § 13. Notice the attraction of τοὺς ἀθανάτους to the case of the principal subject which is due to the proximity of the infinitive. Scheibe however reads καὶ τοὺς.

§ 81.

1. 20. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, 'for my part, indeed.' For μὲν οὖν cp. § 3 *note*. Here it serves to lay stress on the pronoun; cp. Lysias 21. 22 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ οἶδ', etc.

τοῦ θανάτου, cp. § 40 *note*.

1. 21. οἶμαι, often with γινῶμαι, cp. Dem. Olynth. 1. p. 10 καὶ δὲως ἀπιστον οἶμαι ταῖς πολιτείαις ἢ τυραννίς, ἄλλως τε κὰν ὁμορον χώραν ἔχωσι.

1. 22. γενέσθαι, 'to have been born.'

οἴτινες, cp. § 79 *note*.

1. 25. θεραπεύοντας, 'in observance of.'

πάτριον νόμον, cp. § 9 πατρίου τιμῆς. After the speech followed a περιδείπνον (cp. Dem. De. Coron. p. 321).

THE END.



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